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THE
CELEBS OF CENTRAL INDIA.

BY

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VOLUME I.

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se writing a short history of each ruling family in
the States and introducing such information as I can pro-
vide concerning the States and their resources.

In the introductory volume I have given a brief account of
the various branches of the administration that are presided
over by the officers of the Imperial Government, before entering
upon the proper subject of the work.

G. R. ABERIGH-MACKAY.

PORE, }
20th, 1878. }

Photographs have been taken expressly for this work
at Diyal, Indore.

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PART I.

INTRODUCTORY.

CENTRAL INDIA is the name employed to designate collectively the several groups of native states that lie to the north of the Central Provinces, and to the south of Rajputana, having the North-Western Provinces of Bengal on their eastern frontier, and on their western frontier the Provinces of Guzerat and Khandeish. With a somewhat different significance, the name was first employed by Colonel Tod when constructing a sketch map that was published in 1815. It might have been suggested by the *Madhiya Desa*, or middle country, of the Hindu geographers, which again corresponds, only in part, with "the vast shade of Dandak Wood," through which the heroic Rama is said to have wandered, ranging from the hill of Chitrakuta* in Bundelkhand to the sources of the Godaveri.†

Central India, as we now understand the term, consists of the territories included in the nine Political Agencies under the ultimate supervision of the Agent to the Governor-General resident at Indore. These are :—Indore, the Bhil Agency, the Deputy-Bhil Agency, Western Malwa, Bhopal, Guna, Gwalior, Bundelkhand, and Baghelkhand. They comprise

Central India
—Its extent.

* " Amid a forest, wild and vast,
Stands Chitrakuta's mountain tall,
Lovely with wood and waterfall."

† Wheeler's History of India.

seventy-one considerable Chiefships :* four Mahratta, seven Mahomedan, seventeen Bundela, thirty-three Rajput and Bhilala, six Brahman, one Gujar Ahir, one Jogi, one Kayath, and one Dowa Ahir. Many petty Bhil Bhumiats and Thakurats are excluded from this computation. These states cover an area of nearly 84,000 square miles, with a population of upwards of 7,670,000 souls.

Variety of scene,—fertile plain and Mountains† clothed with deep forest, and low rocky hills overgrown with thorny jungle, skirt the vast and fertile plains of the *Patha*, or table-land of Malwa, with its myriad poppy-gardens and far-stretching fields of waving corn. Rivers swimming softly through the millet and sugarcane, sweeping anon round pleasant hamlets, and crossing wide pasture lands, leave the plateau to thunder in clouds of spray down rocky precipices, and to dash along for many a mile past the gloomy haunts of the tiger and the bison. Here, climbing up the wild hill side, is the castle of some forest lord, with a hundred hovels crowding for shelter under its battlements ; a little patch of cultivation skirts it, and all else around is a wilderness of rock and thorn, and stunted trees. A few miles away on the plateau is the capital of an ancient principality, with its towering palace, carved temples, noble flights

* There is also the British District of Manpur in the Deputy Bhil Agency.

† "What rainbow tints, what magic charms are found !

"Rock, river, forest, mountain, all abound ;

"And bluest skies that harmonize the whole.

"Beneath, the distant torrent's rushing sound

"Tells where the volumed cataract doth roll,

"Between those hanging rocks which shock yet please the soul."

BYRON.

of steps leading down to the cool depths of spacious wells, with its crowded bazars and many-storied houses, and with its broad zone of corn lands stretching away on all sides towards the horizon.

Hill and plain are rich in the records that live in *Antiquities*. broken pillars and crumbling walls. Far away from the stir and bustle of the present world, deep in the shady forest, we stumble over the ruins of cities that were rich and populous a thousand years ago. High up, on the breezy hill-top, we startle a herd of gazelles from among the tottering ramparts of a fortress that in its day resounded with the din and clash of battle. The panther finds shelter for her brood among the marble columns of palaces, once splendid and gay with pageant and revelry. Bleak winds howl through the deserted galleries of vast cave-temples, upon which many generations of priests and worshippers lavished their wealth and art in ages long ago. Every glade in the forest, every fountain on the mountain-side, every pool in the deep valley, has its ruined shrine and its half-forgotten story. Ujjain, Mandu, Dhar, Wîn, Mandhatta, Bhilsa, Mandessôr, Kun, Bag, Dhumnar, Kalinjar, Chitrakuta, Ajigarh, and a hundred other places are still replete with buildings, chisellings, and inscriptions of the highest antiquity and interest, and still, for the most part, very little known.

Central India has been roughly described as a great *Geography*. triangle, with the Narbadâ and Sôn for its hypotenuse, and having for one side the valley of the Ganges, and for the other the river Chambal and the Chittôr hills. The great rock escarpment of the Vindhya-s, elevated about 2,000 feet above the sea, abruptly terminates the table-lands of Malwa and Bundelkhand

to the south, and overhangs the valley of the Narbadda, presenting the appearance of an old, weather-beaten coast line. From its summit the plain slopes away in long undulations to the north-east, and is drained by the Chambal, Sindh, and Betwa, with their affluents, discharging their many waters into the distant Jumna.

The Chambal.—The Chambal, or Charmitti, has its fountains in a lofty point of the Vindhya amidst a group of hills, locally known as the Janapava. From here it starts on its long journey of more than five hundred miles, in three streams—the Chambal, Chambela, and the Gambhir. The sacred Kshipra, that washes the temples of Ujjain, and the Greater and Lesser Kali Sindh—the former rising about five miles south of Bagli, and the latter taking its rise near Dewas—contribute their waters before the Chambal leaves the plateau. The Newaz, or Jamniri, from Morsukri and Magurda, and the Parbatti from the pass of Amlakhera, with its more eastern arm from Daulatpur, pursue their course across the table-land, tumble over its northern declivity, to mingle with the Chambal at the ferries of Nunera and Pali. These are the affluents on the right bank. On the left are the Banas, fed by perennial streams issuing from the Aravalli hills, and the Beris from the lakes of Udaipur. Smaller streams, along its whole course, pay their tribute; and so, constantly swelling, the great river winds on to Paphund, between Etawa and Kalpi, where it joins the Jumna, and with the Sindh, forms a holy *tribeni*, or junction of three streams. The falls of the Kali Sindh through the rocks at Gagrôn, and of the Parbatti at Chapra, or Gugal, will repay a visit;

but they altogether yield in interest to the rapids and whirlpools of the main stream of the Chambal at Bhainsrôr. The following description of this remarkable portion of the river's course is from the pen of Colonel Tod :—“ Our little camp was pitched upon an elevated spot, commanding a view over one of the most striking objects of nature—a scene, bold, beyond the power of description. Behind us was a deep wood ; in front, the abrupt precipices of the Patha ; to the left, the river expanded into a lake of ample dimensions, fringed with trees; and a little onward, to the right, the majestic and mighty Chambal, one of the sixteen sacred rivers of India, shrunk into such a narrow compass, that even a man might bestride it. From the tent nothing seemed to disturb the unruffled surface of the lake, until we approached the point of outlet, and beheld the deep bed the river has excavated in the rock. This is the commencement of falls. Proceeding along the margin, one rapid succeeds another, the gulf increasing in width, and the noise becoming more terrific, until you arrive at a spot where the stream is split into four distinct channels ; and a little further an isolated rock appears, high over which the whitened spray ascends, the sunbeams playing on it. Here the separated channels, each terminating in a cascade, fall into an ample basin, and again unite their waters boiling around the masses of black rock, which ever and anon peeps out and contrasts with the foaming surge rising from the whirlpools (chulis) beneath. From this huge cauldron the waters again divide into two branches, encircling and isolating the rock, on whose northern face they re-unite and form another fine fall. A tree is laid across the chasm,

The rapids of the Chambal.

The whirlpools.

Table of the
Thakur of
Bhainsrôr.

by the aid of which the adventurous may attain the summit of the rock, which is quite flat, and is called 'the Table of the Thakur of Bhainsrôr,' who often in the summer holds his *gote*, or feast, there, and a fitter spot for such an entertainment can scarcely be imagined. Here, soothed by the murmur of foaming waters, the eye dwelling on a variety of picturesque objects, seen through the prismatic hues of the spray clouds, the Baron of Bhainsrôr, and his little court, may sip their amrit, fancying it all the while taken from the little ocean beneath them. On issuing from the chulis, the river continues its course through its rocky bed, which gradually diminishes to about 15 feet, and with greatly increased velocity, until, meeting a softer soil under Bhainsrôr, it would float a man-of-war. The distance from the lake first described to this rock is about a mile, and the difference of elevation under 200 feet ; the main cascade having a fall of about 60 feet. It is a curious fact that, after a course of 300 miles, the bed of a mighty river like this should be no more than three yards broad. The whirlpools are huge, perpendicular caverns, 30 and 40 feet in depth, between some of which there is a communication underground ; orbicular stones, termed *roris*, are often forced up in the agitation of these natural cauldrons."

The Sindh.

The Sindh takes its rise from a range of low hills at a point about twelve miles south-west from the town of Seronge. It flows by Bhagwantpur, Baroda, Bijapur, Baita, Ramsan, Mohanganj, Rampur, Sonari, and Sunda, and falls into the Jumna after a course of 200 miles. It is subject during the rains to sudden and dangerous floods.

The Betwa, or Betwan, the third great river of ^{The Betwa.} the plateau, takes its rise among rocky hills at a point about three miles south-west of Shahpur Ghât, and about a mile and-a-half south of the large tank at Bhopal. From its fountain-head it flows parallel to the road leading from Bhopal to Hoshangabad, and when ten miles south of the former, takes a sweep eastward, crossing the highway about a mile south of Misrôd. Thence it flows past Bhilsa, receives the waters of the Bess about two miles from that town, from which to Erich its volume is much increased by a number of tributary hill-streams, of which the following are the most considerable:—The Neon, the Siv, the Sajnawe, the Tagri, the Basu, the Bina, the Amola, the Jamni, and the Or. A little beyond Erich there are rapids, after which, passing between the State of Gwalior and the district of Jhansi on the left bank, and the district of Lalatpur on the right, it flows through Hamirpur to the Jumna.

The Ken, or Kayan river, rises on the north-western ^{The Ken.} slopes of the Vindhya in the Central Provinces, flows through Bundelkhand and falls into the Jumna. At Kharanni, Goursheopur, and Banda there are rapids and falls. A local legend refers the name to Kanhya, Hindi for *maiden*; but another tradition derives it from the proper name of an Ahir's daughter. This girl entertained a pure passion for a Kurmi boy, but her father suspected them of criminality. The old Ahir had a field near a point where the stream issued from a hill. Here he had often built a dam, but the violence of the current as often swept it away. At length he sought aid from a Brahman, who advised him to offer a human sacrifice. The old Ahir eagerly

hastened to follow the holy man's advice, and slew the Kurmi boy, burying his body in the dam. The love-sick girl, hearing the terrible news, ran to the spot, protested her innocence before heaven, and asked that she might see her boy-lover. At that moment the stream burst the embankment, disclosed the body, and swept away the dead lover and living maiden in its passionate waters.

The Narbad-
da.

The Narbadda,* in part of its course, passing through the Central India Agency, affords a marvellous variety of scene. The following account of the scenery, through which it flows, was written† by Sir R. Temple in 1866 :—

Amarkantak.

"The source is at Amarkantak, a massive, flat-topped hill, forming the eastern terminus of that long mountain range which runs right across the middle of India from west to east. If the peninsula may be imagined as a shield, and if any spot be the boss of such a shield, then Amarkantak is that spot. South of the Himalayas there is no place of equal celebrity so isolated on every side from habitation and civilization. To the east and to the north hundreds of miles of sparsely populated hills and forests intervene between it and the Gangetic countries. On the west there extend hilly roadless uplands of what are now called the Satpura regions. To the south, indeed, there is the partly-cultivated plateau of Chhatisgarh,

* "The thousand peaks that Vindhya shows,
Where every tree and creeper grows,
Where Narmada's sweet waters run,
And serpents bask them in the sun."—

The Ramayana.—GRIFFITH.

† It was written for a Miscellany, entitled *Once a Way*, published at Jabalpur, in 1866, while the Exhibition was going on.

but that after all is only an oasis in the midst of the great wilderness. It is among these mighty solitudes ^{source.} that the Narbadda* first sees the light. It bubbles

* The physical character of the Narbadda is thus described by Dr. Impey (Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government, No. XIV, new Series, 1865, p. 5) :—"The Narbadda then rising in the highest land of Central India, 5,000 feet above the sea" (a mistake, the height of the source is about 3,400 feet), "and pursuing a serpentine westerly course for 750 miles through a hilly tract, which runs parallel to and borders closely both its banks, may be said to flow through a longitudinal cleft rather than a distinct valley, and to present the general characters of a mountain stream more than anything else. No great depth of water can ever be expected in it, from the nature of its tributaries, except in the monsoon ; neither were they to promise better could it be retained, owing to the great declivity of the bed of the river, which from Jhansi Ghât, near Jabalpur, to the sea falls 1,200 feet in 500 miles. The bed of the river in its whole length is one sheet of basalt, seldom exceeding 150 yards in absolute width, which has been upheaved in ridges that cross it diagonally in N.E. and S.W. directions. These elevations occur every few miles, and cause a kind of natural bandh (dam), above which the water is invariably formed into a pond, more or less deep. It is this peculiarity of geological and physical formation, creative of so many natural barriers, which gives rise to the numerous fords, which in all the open and cultivated parts of the Narbadda valley are found occurring every few miles, with a town on each bank ; and their very existence indicate the absence of any extent of navigation, which can only be absolutely free between limited intervals. In such a condition of the bed the only change produced by time is due to the erosion of the water, whose course being straight, and the force of its accessory feeders so strong, is much obstructed by the deposit of sand and detritus, consisting of light gravel and sand which subsides and accumulates more opposite or just below the entrance of the large tributaries. The character, then, of the bed of the Narbadda in fair weather—*independent of the large falls*—may be summed up as consisting of a narrow, rocky channel, obstructed by numerous rapids, occurring in the openings of the bare, rocky ledges which cross it diagonally. These rapids are tortuous, often at right angles with the general course of the river, and from 50 yards to 5 miles in length, very shallow, and rendered still more so by the accumulation of sand, rock and gravel, deposited at the mouths of the numerous feeders, which cause a broken eddying current, with from six inches to a foot and half of water over them, and are not safe in consequence of projecting cliffs, with a rise of 20 feet of water, at which time formidable whirlpools, and a strong unmanageable current, subject to freshets of 30 feet in a few hours, take place. The basins of the Narbadda are those portions of

up gently in a very small tank in one of the undulating glades on the summit of the moun-

the valley which are so fertile and productive. The upper one, 1,000 feet above the sea, extends from the marble banks of Bera Ghât, opposite Jabalpur, to a little below Hindia, nearly 200 miles in length, but of little width northerly and southerly, the hills being nowhere above 20 miles distant. The other great basin, from 500 to 750 feet high, stretches from the quartz hills above Barwai to Chikalda, upwards of 100 miles. It is more open, with the Satpura range, in some places 40 miles distant to the south; while to the north the Vindhya approach to between 14 and 16 miles. The banks of both basins are 40 feet high, the soil alluvial, composed of marl and clay below, the superior stratum being the black vegetable mould. The upper basin is so level that from Jabalpur to Hoshangabad, upwards of 120 miles, the fall is little more than 50 feet. In the lower, the fall is about 200 feet." (These figures are incorrect. The fall from Jabalpur to Hoshangabad is 338 feet.) "The Narbadda is fed principally from the south side, as the watershed of the Vindhyan table-land, which bounds the valley on the north, is almost entirely northwards. The principal affluents are on the left bank,—the Makrar, Chakrar, Kharmer, Burhner, and Banjar, which, with others, rise in the wilds of Ramgarh and Raigarh. The Banjar empties itself into the Narbadda just opposite to Mandla. From this point owing to the propinquity of the cliffs, of which the table-lands slope to the south, we have no more tributary streams, until we meet the Timar—a considerable affluent falling into the Narbadda in the Bargi Parganna, above the Gaur. Then we have the Soner between Jabalpur and Narsinghpur, the Sher and Shakar in the latter district, the Dudhi, Korami, Machna, Tawa, Ganjal, and Ajual in Hoshangabad, the Dib, 30 miles west of Mandlesar, and the Gohi, 39 miles further west."—"These streams, after escaping from the gorge of the Gondwana hills, have hollowed out channels for themselves across the flat ground of the valley beyond, exposing throughout most of their course many rocks distinct from each other in age, and differing among themselves in lithological character. And whether among the hills or on the plain beyond, the various texture and structure of those rocks, as well as their diverse modes of occurrence and of disintegration, have impressed on the landscape that endless variety of outline from which its principal charm is derived."—*Memoirs of Geological Survey*. "On the right, or north bank, the principal affluents are the Balai, passing under Shankar Ganj, the Hingna, the Gaur—a beautiful stream a little east of Jabalpur, the Haran in the same district, the Jamner in Bhopal, the Karan in Holkar's dominions, crossed by the Bombay and Indore Road, the Hatni in Alirajpur, and others of less note. These northern feeders, being comparatively smaller than the southern, are also fewer and shorter."—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*. "The proximity of the hills increases their

tain. Thence it flows through a little channel, and winds along the perennially green meadows. But soon the waters are reinforced by the countless springs which abound in those trap-rock formations, and after a course of some three miles from the source, the abrupt edge of the Amarkantak plateau is reached. There it tumbles over the ledge of a black basaltic cliff with a sheer descent of 70 feet, a glistening sheet of water against the intensely dark rock. After its fall it is for a brief space hidden amongst the crevices of the stones, but soon struggles upwards, and dashes along through a glen with lofty, precipitous sides, a splendid confusion of rock and foliage, and of wild beauty not easily surpassed. These, the first, and perhaps the loveliest, of all the many falls* of the Narbadda are called Kapila Dhara. At a short distance is another fall of lesser height called DUDH DHARA,

Descent from
Amarkantak.

number, adds immensely to their volume and velocity, and accounts equally for the sudden flushing of the river in the rains to 70 and 90 feet, often in a few hours, and also for its shallowness in the fair season. These tributaries, being literally the drainage of the mountain ranges, rapidly empty themselves owing to their short course and rapid fall. They are torrents rather than streams. The Tawa is said to be 1,276 yards from bank to bank in the rains, while it is all but dry in the fair weather. The Karam also, near Gujri, is nearly as wide, requiring a bridge of five large elliptical arches to span it."—*Bombay Government Records*.

* "The falls are those of Kapila Dhara and DUDH DHARA near its source—the former of 78 feet. The next is at Umaria in the Narsinghpur district of about 10 feet. At Mandhar, 90 miles below Hoshangabad, and about 25 below Hindia, there is a fall of 40 feet. Near Mandhar the river presents an unbroken sheet of water, 100 feet from bank to bank. At Saheswar Dhara, below Mandesar, there is a fall of 10 feet. Then the fall of Haran Pahl below Chikalda occur. At Hamp, in the Rewa Kanta, there is the Balagri rapid : at Makrai there is another fall ; and a little lower down, a dangerous whirlpool, which is said to embrace the whole bed of the Narbadda. The Makrai barrier is one of the worst in the whole river. It is about 60 miles below the Haran Pahl."—*Central Provinces Gazetteer*.

or the stream of milk, the myth being that once the river here ran with that liquid. After descending some hundreds of feet by falls and rapids from the heights of Amarkantak, the Narbadda skirts the upland valley just mentioned, and winds about the hills of the Mandla district, pursuing a westerly course till it flows under the walls of the ruined palace of Ramnagar, a few miles from the town of Mandla itself. Since quitting Amarkantak the Narbadda has run a course of near 100 miles, and receiving the drainage of a long hill district, has become a fine river. At this point its reach forms almost a semicircle, so that the spectator can see several miles both up-stream and down-stream. The river does not flow here in an unbroken expanse, but is divided into several channels, between which there rise wooded islets ; in mid-stream too there protrude peaks and ledges of black trap-rock in all directions. The banks are clothed with thick foliage to the water's edge, and the horizon is bounded all round with hills, some near, some distant. Thus far the river's course, constantly interrupted by rocks and islands, has been frequently tortuous. But below Ramnagar, for several miles down to Mandla, it flows in a comparatively straight line, with an unbroken expanse of blue waters, between banks adorned with lofty trees. These pools, or reaches (called *dohs* by the natives), in many of the rivers of the Central Provinces, are reckoned as gems in the landscape. This *doh* of the Narbadda, between Ramnagar and Mandla, is quite the finest of them all.

The great reach below Ramnagar.

Below Mandla, at the point Gwarighat, where the Trunk Road crosses from Jabalpur to Nagpur, the river for a moment wears the look of trade and indus-

try ; for here are collected many hundreds of logs of timber cut in the forests, and thence thrown into the stream to be floated down by the current, like rafts, to the marts of Jabalpur.

“ Then the Narbadda, becoming pent-up among magnesian limestone rocks, flings itself tumultuously over a ledge with a fall of some 30 feet, called the Dhuan Dhara, and then enters on a deeply-cut channel, literally carved through a mass of marble and basalt for nearly two miles. The river, which above this point had a breadth of 100 yards, is here compressed into 20 yards. At the channel, below the surface of the surrounding country, the river passes through a double row of marble bluffs, or even ^{The marble rocks.} between a wall of marble on either side. These glittering white steeps are from 50 to 80 feet high. This is the place known as ‘the marble rocks.’ Up to this time the Narbadda has not been troubled much with the works of man, having only passed through wild, hilly tracts inhabited by half-civilised races; but now it has to enter upon a valley, broad and rich, highly cultivated, and thickly populated for some 200 miles. It is near here crossed by a great railway viaduct with massive piers. Thereafter it flows in a generally straight westerly course between the two parallel mountain ranges of different geological structure. The channel of the river from about here down to Hoshangabad—a distance of near 200 miles—is not obstructed by any marked barriers, but the constant occurrence of rapids and rocky interruptions ^{Rapids.} renders it quite unnavigable for three-quarters of the year. During one, the rainy quarter, in the full flush of the floods, boats can pass down with the current,

which is somewhat violent however, and in this way there is some brief and precarious traffic. The soil of this broad valley consists of alluvial deposits of a recent geological epoch. By some it is supposed that there were vast inland lakes in this region at a prehistoric period. On some of these hill sides bordering the valley there have been discovered some of those strange flint implements, which in other parts of the world have so roused the curiosity of antiquarians. In this valley the river, quitting the district of Jabalpur, and entering that of Narsinghpur, reaches the spot

Birman Ghât. known as Birman Ghât. Here one of the largest annual fairs in the Central Provinces is held in the month of November. The high banks are crowned with structures, and flights of steps lead down to the water's edge. The bed of the river is broad here, and the waters, receding and subsiding after the rainy season is over, leave a broad space of sand and shingle. The next section of the river's course, though not remarkable in its external aspect, is noted for agricultural industry ; the country being a great cotton field, and also a great granary, producing wheat of such quality and in such abundance as often to have afforded succour to famine-stricken districts in other parts of India. It is equally noticeable for its mineral wealth, rich seams of coal having been found near the left bank, and iron ores being worked near the right bank. Thus the river traverses long-stretching plains clothed with waving harvests twice a year, past Hoshangabad, past Hindia, and Nimawar—towns now decayed, but once famous in Mahomedan history—past Jogigarh, where it rushes with clear swift rapids right beneath the battlemented walls and bastions, till it

once more enters the jungles. These jungles in the Nimar district are the wilds which, at the beginning of this century, furnished a home and a refuge to the Pindhari hordes, where these predatory bands were at last brought to bay by pursuing vengeance of British power, where their leaders were hunted down, and where the fugitive Chitu* died a robber's death in the grip of a tiger. Emerging from these horrid wilds the Narbadda again becomes beautiful, crashing in grand turmoil over dark trap-rocks, then flowing quietly down in the shadow of wall-like ridges, and then surrounding the sacred island of Omkar Mandhata, the heights of which are covered with temples and priestly buildings. Here again the river forms itself into deep pools of still water, in which are imaged all the forms of the rocks and the structures. In former times devotees used to precipitate themselves from the rocky peaks, to earn immortality by perishing in the Narbadda.

“A few miles further on below Barwai (where the Barwai noble bridge of the Holkar State Railway spans the stream) there is one of the deep water reaches, extending from Mandlesar to Mahesar. At the latter Mahesar. place there are stately religious edifices with broad flights of steps leading down to the river, erected by the famous Mahratta Princess Ahaliya Bai. At some distance from the right bank the headland and promontories of the Vindhya range have a well-defined outline. On one of these there stand all that remains of Mandu, the once splendid and royal city of the Mahomedan kings of Malwa and Nimar. Theroafter the river

* *Vide* Malcolm, Vol. I. p. 447.

runs for some way through an open country till it approaches that point where the parallel ranges of the Vindhya and Satpura gradually trend nearer and nearer towards each other till they almost converge, before they become finally lessened, and drop downward towards the western-coast territory of Guzerat. At the nearest point of this convergence they are separated from each other only by the Narbadda itself. The river courses along through bold passes, sometimes with rocks jutting out diagonally into mid-stream, with falls and rapids, some of which are said to extend for miles, past the hill of Turan Mall, through the gorge of the Haran Pahl,* or Deer's Leap."—From this point to Sulpani Mahadeva, a distance of some 70 miles, the river rushes stormily along in a succession of rapids and falls. At Makrai a tremendous whirlpool occurs, embracing the whole bed of the stream, about 400 yards wide. Thence the majestic river rolls placidly on through the great plains of Broach, attaining a breadth of from two to three miles—under the vast viaduct of the Bombay and Baroda Railway—and so on for 30 miles more to its long-sought home in the Gulf of Cambay.

The Sôn.

The Sôn takes its rise among the mountain wilds of Amarkantak,† not far from the fountains of the

* "The name of the Haran Pahl is derived from the circumstance of the river being obstructed by large masses of basalt, rising about 10 or 11 feet above the ordinary level of the stream, and giving passage to the river through three very narrow channels, across each of which, it is supposed, an antelope could bound."—MALCOLM.

† "And now from their fountains
In Enna's mountains,
Down one vale where the morning basks,
Like friends once parted
Grown single-hearted,

Nerbadda. It runs through grass and flowers and tangled brake, an ever-growing stream, till it reaches the northern slopes of its high birth-place, and leaps down to the northern plains in foam and spray, 'through many a woven acanthus wreath divine,' wakening 'the dewy echoes' of the profoundest jungles. Hence it sweeps along through Baghelkhand amid forest scenery of surpassing beauty, and leaving Rewa, winds in and out among the stony hills of Mirzapur on a north-westerly course. Beyond, it forms the boundary between the districts of Shahabad on the left bank, and Gaya and Patna on the right, and passing under the stupendous iron-bridge of the East Indian Railway, contributes its wide expanse of waters to the sacred Ganges.

The rocks of Central India have for many years Geological researches. engaged the attention of geologists. In 1823 * Captain Dangerfield's careful observations on the lithology and mineralogy of the table-lands were published as an appendix to *Malcolm's Memoirs of Central India.*

Captain Franklin a few years later (1828) contributed to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, and also to the Geological Society of London, a valuable memoir on the Geology of Bundelkhand. In the following year Mr. Hardie presented the Asiatic Society with a

They ply their watery tasks:
 At sunrise they leap
 From their cradles' steep
 In the cave of the shelving hill;
 At noon tide they flow
 Through the woods below
 And the meadows of Asphodel."—SHELLEY.

* *Memoirs of the Geological Survey, Vol. II., Part II., p. 102.*

Sketch of the Geology of Central India, exclusive of Malwa.

Jacquemont,
1833. Jacquemont in 1833 visited Central India, and gave minute descriptions of the limestones of the Rewa table-land. The Reverend J. Everest, a few years later, published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal the result of researches among the sandstone and trap-rocks of the same part of India. Lieutenant Finnis followed in his footsteps with observations carried on over a wider area. In Volume III of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Dr. Spilsbury treated the geology of certain districts of Central India ; and in Volume IX are given the results of observations made in a tour through Amarkantak. Dr. Adams in 1842 described the rocks of Bundelkhand. In 1854 Dr. Carter published his work on the geology of India ; and in the following year Mr. Hislop published, in the Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal, a paper on the age of the coal strata in Western Bengal and Central India. The brothers Schlagintweit contributed their observations in 1856. Besides the more purely scientific memoirs, above-mentioned, there has been much written on the mineral resources of this part of India, where coal and iron have long been sought for with much diligence and some success. Colonel Ousely appears to have been the earliest as well as the most successful explorer of coal, whose labours are on record. In 1827 he discovered the Sonadi seam, as well as that near Mardanpur ; and in 1832 he found some coal near Fattehpur. In 1835 he described the coal in the Sita Riwa river near Mopani, as well as that exposed by the Hard river above Hatnapur ; and although in almost every case he took a too sanguine view of the

Rev. J.
Everest.

Lieut.
Finnis.

Dr. Spilsbury.

Dr. Adams,
1842.

Dr. Carter,
1854.

Schlagint-
weits,
1856.

Col. Ousely,
1827—35.

commercial value of these beds, yet with him remains the merit of having first drawn the attention of Government to the subject. The iron of the Narbadda valley has also been very carefully examined and fully reported on by Colonel Pressgrave, Captain Franklin, Messrs. Jacob and Blackwell, and Dr. Oldham.

In 1854-55 Dr. Oldham's Assistants, the brothers Medlicott,^{1854-55.} made a careful examination of the valley of the Narbadda, the results of which are recorded in Volume II, Part II, of the Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India (1860); from which a few—necessarily very brief—notes will here be made.

The great rock escarpment of the Vindhyan hills, ^{The Vindhyan escarpment.} running along the north side of the valley of the Narbadda, is the most striking physical feature in this part of India. This range of flat-topped cliffs is marked by great uniformity of outline, averaging from 300 to 400 feet above the valley, in rare cases rising to 800. It is, however, incorrect to speak of it as a range of hills. Seen from the south it presents an almost uninterrupted series of head-lands with projecting promontories and receding bays, like a weather-beaten coast line; but these form the abrupt termination of a table-land, and are not an independent range of hills. It would be difficult to point out a finer example of cliffs once formed by the denuding action of shore-waves, but now far inland than is exhibited along this range. From the summit of these cliffs, however, there is no descent to the north, corresponding to their southern declivity; on the contrary the plateau is found to stretch away in this direction in gentle undulations. This northward slope commences from the very edge of the escarp-

ment ; and rivers, that have their origin in places over-looking the valley of the Narbadda meander away to the north-east, and finally contribute their waters to the Ganges. Thus the drainage basin of the Ganges is, in some cases, separated from the actual bed of the Narbadda by little more than one mile.

The Vindhyan sandstone.

The table-land of Malwa and Bundelkhand is formed of the sandstones seen in the Vindhyan escarpment, a group of rocks not known to occur anywhere to the south of the Narbadda valley. From this great group no fossil evidence whatever has as yet been obtained. And it is a singular fact that thousands of feet in thickness of beds of varied mineral character, fine sands, silts, clays, and calcareous deposits should thus be spread out in continuous, but, slightly, disturbed, beds over immense areas ; that bed after bed, often to the number of hundreds in succession, should abound with physical proof of the shallowness of the water in which they were deposited ; that the mineral texture of the rocks should be precisely that which seems most favourable for the occurrence and preservation of organic remains, and still, that not a trace of these should yet have been found. The geological epoch of the Vindhyan group* is, therefore, entirely unknown, even relatively.

* The prevalence of regularly bedded fine grained grits with a characteristic red colour is the most striking lithological feature of the Vindhyan group, and speaking of the formation generally, its most marked characteristic certainly is the persistency of this lithological aspect over great areas. This sameness of texture is strongly in contrast with the prevailing character of all these more recent sandstone formations to the south. This general constancy in lithological character does not, of course, imply the entire absence of varieties among the beds of the series : instead of clear quartz grits, slightly earthy sandstones are found, and in many places ferruginous clay has been so largely accumulated as to form a

Over the table-land of Malwa and Bundelkhand ^{Volcanic and metamorphic rocks.} basaltic trappean rocks spread over the country into wide patches towards Bhopal, Sagar, and Dumoh, in which direction they gradually die out. Granitic and gneissose rocks and crystalline and schists are exposed in many places, sometimes covering considerable areas and often forming prominent features in the scenery of some of the most picturesque parts of the country.

The northern part of Malwa presents a great ^{Northern Malwa.} area of sandstone and sandstone slates, on which for the most part, repose the low boundary range extending from Chittor to Harraoti ; which consists chiefly of hornstone, splintery or conchoidal, and in some places in such thin layers as to assume a slaty appearance. In colour it is generally greenish or reddish grey, with thin stripes of a darker purplish red, and a radiated structure. Through the interstices of these layers fine streams* of cool water often perco-

considerable ingredient in the mass. This earthy matter most commonly occurs at the partings of the arenaceous beds, and sometimes exists as irregular aggregations through the mass of the beds themselves ; less commonly the argillaceous and sandy ingredients have been mixed together, producing an earthy, or a shaly sandstone. In many places the sandstone is mottled and spotted at the surface, from the decomposition of grains of magnetic iron, which is often abundantly scattered through the rock, and may, on a fresh fracture generally, be detected in its undecomposed condition. Mica is not a common ingredient of the Vindhyan sandstones, yet occasionally this mineral is present in quantities sufficient to constitute the rock a micaceous flag, and it seems generally to cause or accompany a laminated and fissile structure. Rippling is a phenomenon characteristic of the Vindhyan series, where it is found in the most extraordinary perfection. Sirbo hill on the Rewa plateau is mentioned by Dr. Oldham as a place where it is beautifully preserved ; short deep waves, long shallow ones, and marks indicating the conflict of opposing currents are observable.

* As at Rempura, where a small stream is conducted through a pipe into one of the beautiful temples built by Ahalia Bai and made to drip perpetually on the phallic emblem.

late. The sandstones are generally fine grained, and vary in colour from a greenish, bluish grey to a yellowish brown and brick-red. The grey kind forms a valuable building stone, and is quarried for that purpose in many places east of the Chambal.

**Geology
(Bundel-
khand).**

In Bundelkhand there are numerous isolated hills before the uplands of the Vindhya are reached. They appear to form several series, but* they have been traced to one system, and compared to the diverging sticks of a fan. In Franklin's Memoir on the Geology of Bundelkhand, these hills are distributed in three ranges. The outermost to the north-east, and the least elevated are denominated the Vindhya-chal hills. This range which commences near Sihonda, on the Sindh, proceeds south-west to Narwar, and thence to Ajigarh, Kalinjar, and Bargarh. Nowhere does it attain an elevation exceeding 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, and its average altitude is only about 520 feet. The plateau, by which it is surmounted, averages ten or twelve miles in width. The base of the range consists of primary formations—as granite and syenite—more commonly overlaid with sandstone, but in many places with trap and other igneous rocks. The second hill-chain, designated the Panna range, rises south of that just described. The summit is a platform, slightly undulated, with a breadth of about ten miles, and an average elevation above the sea between the Katra Pass and Lohargaon of 1,050 feet, and between the latter place and the hills, near Pathariya, gradually ascending to an altitude of 1,200 feet. Where deep ravines allow examination of the formations, an enormously thick

* Atkinson's Gazetteer.

bed of sandstone is found overlying primary rock, and is occasionally overlaid by rocks of volcanic origin. South-west of this last range, and separated from it by the valley of Lohargaon, is the third or Bandair range, the plateau of which is more extensive than that on either of the others, having an average breadth of from fifteen to twenty miles, with an elevation averaging about 1,700 feet above the sea, and sometimes rising to 2,000. The Bandair range is generally of sandstone intermixed with ferruginous gravel. The elongated basin of Lohargaon, which intervenes between these ranges, is of lias limestone.

The greater part of Malwa and Bundelkhand is covered to a considerable depth by rich, black loam, known as 'cotton soil.' There are different varieties of it. That called *mar*, *marua* or *moti*, is the blackest and hardest, having a very close grain. It is marly clay, very fruitful and retentive of moisture, and is formed of decomposed trap and carbonized vegetable matter, lying over a sub-stratum of clay often to a depth of from six to ten feet. *Kabar* is, in many respects, similar to *mar*; but is of a lighter colour, has more sandy particles, and is less productive. *Parua* is a light earth, of a light yellow colour, suitable for irrigation, and widely used for cotton and sugar-cane. When irrigated it is said to yield five maunds of produce to one maund of seed. *Barua*, *tari*, and *kachhar* are sandy loams of rich quality, and found lying low by the side of streams and inundated in the rains. *Rakar*, *kankar*, *dumat*, and *patharo* are other varieties of the soil whose distinctive properties are studied by the cultivator.

Soil in Malwa
and Bundel-
khand.

Soil in Nimar. In Nimar the soil is roughly divided into four classes :—*gatta*, a rich black mould lying along rivers which will yield two crops without irrigation ; *gohali*, a black soil found a little higher up, which will yield a *rabbi* crop (wheat) without irrigation ; *mal*, a brown soil, stiffer and less deep than the preceding, which will not carry a *rabbi* crop when unirrigated, but yields the best *kharif* crop, and is excellent for cotton when underlaid by a stratum of *muram* ; *kharda*, the highest and lightest, reddish, often strewn with boulders, and mixed with *kankar*.

Nomenclature of fields. For each field the cultivators have a name, generally derived from some natural or artificial landmark :—as the pipal-tree field, the sweet-well field, the brackish-well field, the seven-tree field. Sometimes, however, the designation is derived from the name of the person who first settled on the land, or brought particular portions of it into cultivation, as Balwant's field, Ram Singh's field, Omkarji's field. The latter mode of naming is the more common, as it marks the ancestor of a cultivator ; and on the loss of a grant, or a lease, forms part of that claim to the land, which the husbandmen of Central India emphatically denominate a *jita sannad*, or living title-deed, implying that their claim to the field is still living in the memory of the villagers.

Seasons. April is looked upon as the commencement of the agricultural year. In this month the peasants begin to prepare the fields for the first (*kharif*) crops sown in June (usually with a drill plough) and, for the most part, reaped in September. In November and December the second (*rabbi*) crops, such as poppy and sugar-cane, are sown. The latter takes a whole

year to ripen ; but most of the other seeds, put in the ground at this time, ripen in three or four months.*

The following Table gives the approximate cost of chief agricultural products of Central India. I extract it from Atkinson's Gazetteer, Bundelkhand, Banda district:—

Implements. The implements of agriculture employed are the *hal*, or drill-plough ; the *bakhar*, or hoe-plough ; the *nagar*, a heavy plough ; the *pahta*, or *henga*, a harrow ; the *mai*, or *patila*, a heavy beam for breaking clods ; the *hansiya*, or sickle ; the *khurpi*, or hoe, and the *kulhari*, or hatchet.

Condition of the cultivators. The cultivators, generally speaking, are both skilful and industrious ; and would with tolerable assessments be a well-to-do class. In most of the States, however, the rents practically fluctuate with the seasons, and general prosperity of the country, so as under all circumstances to leave the husbandman but a bare subsistence. The nominal assessments represent rents that cannot actually be realised, and remissions are everywhere made of necessity, being greater or less, as the crops are good or bad. Thus, an equitable strain on the cultivator is maintained.*

* Malcolm gives us the following Statement, exhibiting the average outlay and profit on husbandry in Malwa :—

Agricultural details of twenty-five bigas, taken from the accounts of Nalcha, a village in Dhar.

KHARIF CROP : 10 BIGAS.

	<i>Expense.</i>	<i>Rs. As.</i>
12½ seer of Joari seed for 5 bigas ...		1 4
7½ , Arud , 1		0 12
7½ , Mung , 1		0 12
1 ¼ , Til , ¼		0 2
1 ¼ , Tuwar , ¼		0 4
3 , Chaura , ½		0 2
30 , Flax , 1		1 0
10 , Cotton , ½		0 4
Weeding ...		3 8
Hire of cart ...		3 8
Village dues to the Headman, Accountant, Ballai, Carpenter, Blacksmith, Barber, Washerman, Shoemaker, Watchman (all paid in kind) ...	... 12 12	... 12 12
Iron for ploughs, ropes and labour...	... 8 0	... 8 0
Government tax at Rs. 2 per biga ...	... 20 0	... 20 0
Total	57 4	

The climate of Malwa is mild and equable. The Climate. range of the Thermometer, except towards the end

Receipts.

Sale of 2½ maunds of Joari	...	...	... 35 0
" 3 " Arud	...	...	... 6 0
" 3 " Mung	...	...	... 6 12
" 1 " Oil of Til, &c	...	...	... 3 0
" 1½ " Tuwar	...	...	... 3 0
" 1 " Chaura	...	...	... 2 0
" 3 " Flax	...	...	... 7 8
" 2 " Seed of Flax	...	...	... 3 0
" 1 " Cotton	...	...	... 6 0
		Nett produce	... 72 4
		Deduct charges	... 57 4
		Nett profit	... 15 0

RABBI CROP: 10 BIGAS.

Expense.

Rs. As.

1½ maunds of Gram for 2 bigas	...	...	... 4 10
3 " and 30 seers of wheat for 5 bigas	...	...	... 11 8
7½ " of Barley for ½ bigas	...	...	... 0 8
7½ " Masur " ½ " ...	...	...	... 0 10
7½ " Peas " ½ " ...	...	...	... 0 9
3½ " Linscед " ½ " ...	...	...	... 0 5
15 " Kasam " 1 " ...	...	...	... 1 4
Village dues ...	...	...	... 22 13
Harvest expenses ...	...	...	... 2 12
Land tax at Rs. 2 per biga	...	...	... 20 0
		Total expense	... 64 15

Receipts.

Sale of 6 maunds of Gram	...	...	... 16 0
" 15 " Wheat	...	...	... 40 0
" 4 " Barley	...	...	... 15 0
" 2 " Masur	...	...	... 4 0
" 2 " Peas	...	...	... 4 0
" 1½ " Linseed	...	...	... 4 8
" 7½ " Kasum	...	...	... 7 8
		Nett produce	... 91 0
		Deduct expense	... 64 15
		Nett profit	... 26 1

of the year, is very limited. In the hot season the nights are always cool ; and, during the rains, the weather is generally very pleasant. For about a month after this season the temperature rises ; but from November to the middle of March nothing can be more delightful than the cold, bracing nights, followed by days of genial mildness. So too in Bundelkhand, generally speaking, the extremes of heat and cold are not so great as in other parts of India.

Fauna.

Central India is well-known to be one of the great hunting-grounds of the East. When Rama was setting out for the forest of Dandak, his father deprecated the fury of the wild animals with which it abounded—

“Thee shall the hungry lion spare,
The tiger, elephant, and bear ;
Safe from their furious might repose,
Safe from the horned buffaloes.”

Lions were occasionally shot in the neighbourhood of Guna until within the last few years. Tigers still abound in all the deep jungles of the ghâts, and in the great ravines that cleave asunder the table-land. One or two are yearly shot in the Maharaja Holkar’s preserves, within eighteen or twenty miles of Indore. Panthers are found everywhere, in the open as well as in the jungle, and do an incredible amount of mischief. Wild pig are common ; and though the black cotton soil does not admit of true pig-sticking, boar-hunting with spears, dogs and guns, furnishes the native Chiefs with sport they keenly enjoy. The Rajput has no qualms about shooting or eating ‘the mighty boar.’ The curious chita is found in parts of Bundelkhand and elsewhere, among low rugged hills : but the tame hunting chitas, which

almost every Native Chief keeps, come, for the most part, from Jaipur or Haidarabad. The little red lynx, and a variety of wild cats are generally distributed. The common Indian bear is met with in suitable cover. The wolf, grey fox, jackal, hyena, and wild dog represent the canine species. The sambhar, the swamp deer, the spotted deer, the Indian antelope, the four-horned antelope, the nilgai, and the gazelle are everywhere found in suitable localities. In the dense jungles of the Narbadda valley the bison still furnishes exciting and dangerous sport. The greater and lesser bustard, the grey and painted partridge, quail, sand grouse, and a variety of wild-fowl abound.

The *rohu*, *malhaser*, *chilwa*, *bam*, *tengra*, *parhan*, ^{Fish.} *gauriya*, *sauri*, and *mergat** people the rivers ; and in some places, afford capital sport with fly or spoon bait. Spearing fish by torch-light is not unknown in some of the States : and netting by torch-light is very common.

Representatives of almost every well-defined Hindu caste are to be found in Central India. Brahmins of Cashmir, Oudh, Bengal and the Deckan are to be met with everywhere, as priests, as clerks, as traders, as astrologers, as school-masters, and as ministers. There is hardly a Court in Central India in which some acute Dakshani Pandit does not hold an influential and lucrative position. These southern Brahmins are astute, well-educated, abstemious, decorous in their conduct, industrious, and ambitious. They are masters of oriental statecraft—thoroughly

* This list might easily be supplemented by the names of fish less common or of less importance :—as the *baji*, *gubda*, *paribasi*, *karuti*, *sendha*, *laindor*, *maugauri*, *khabda*, *gasta*, *kuva*, *mui*, *sikcha*, *bachiya*, *belgagra*, *lamhri*, *kalbaus*, &c., &c.

versed in the theory and practice of intrigue and counter-intrigue. Above all other classes, they know how to trade upon authority, and to turn to the best advantage the smallest office in a State. Like their countrymen generally, they are proud of the traditions of their father-land, and strongly attached to the villages of their ancestors in the south country, always keeping up a connection with, and frequently visiting, them ; and regarding Central India as a foreign land to which they have come to push their fortunes.*

The Rajputs. The saddest thing in all Rajwarra at the present day is the condition of the royal caste. The children of the Sun and Moon, the children of the Fire-fountain, seem to have forgotten the inspiriting traditions of their race, and have sunk into a state of slothful ignorance and debauchery that mournfully contrasts with the chivalrous heroism, the judicious and active patriotism, the refined culture and the generous virtue of their ancestors. The memory of a hundred noble deeds that adorn their annals, is still fresh in the minds of all men ; and the names of many Rajput princes, of comparatively recent times, will never die while a history of India remains. Rana Sanga of Mewar, enemy of the Moghal ; Jai Singh Sewai, of Jaipur, scholar, statesman, and soldier; Sur Singh, Gaj Singh, Jeswant Singh, the glorious paladins of Marwar,—these are surely names to conjure with—yet they would now seem to excite but little emulation in the breasts of many of those in whose veins their blood flows, and who

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* Besides the Deckanies, *Malcolm states that there are eighty-four different sects of Brahmins in Central India. Of these only six castes claim Central India as the home of their fore-fathers, and take a pride in being termed Malwa Brahmins, a title which the others would repudiate.

still bear their undying names. Hardly able to read or write his own language—ignorant of all pertaining to his country, pertaining to his race, pertaining to his State, pertaining to his sacred office as a ruler of men—the petty Rajput chief of the present day often saunters away his miserable existence in the society of abominable creatures that cast discredit on the name of servant. Besotted with spirits and opium, dull, morose, and wretched, he knows nothing of his affairs ; and leaves everything to plundering “ managers ” and “ deputy-managers.” He is generally hopelessly involved in debt. He seldom cares for anything, but the merest shadow of his dignity,—the ceremony with which he is treated. Of this he is insanely jealous. That all the honours due to royalty and Rajput blood should be paid to him ; that he should be saluted with guns and received at the edge of carpets, and followed by escorts of cavalry ; that his daughters should be married at an early age to princes of higher clans than his own ; that his Thakurs should attend him at the Dassehra, and perform the precise ritual of allegiance: all this is what he craves. It never occurs to him to consider whether he wears his princely honors worthily, and whether those who show him the outward observances of respect, love or honor him in their hearts. But there is reason to believe that a new generation of Rajput princes is springing up, who will add to the courtly manners of which the most degenerate Rajput is never destitute, a knowledge of affairs, a desire to govern well, and an enthusiasm for manly sports, the battles of peaceful days. They, however, will have much to do to restore the drooping prestige of the royal caste.

Bundelas.

Popular tradition, according to the *Bundelkhand Gazetteer*, ascribes the origin of the name Bundela to Raja Pancham, a descendant of the Gaharwar Rajas of Kashi and Kantit. Pancham being expelled from his kingdom by his brothers, retired to Vindhyaachal, and became a votary of Vindhyaabasini Bhawani. While residing there he resolved to offer himself up as a sacrifice to that deity, and in pursuance of his vow, had already inflicted a wound upon his person, when suddenly Bhawani appeared and restrained him. In reward for his devotion, she promised him that his kingdom should be restored, and in commemoration of the drop of blood (*band*) which flowed from his wound, his descendants should be called Bundelas.—Elliott gives a different account of this clan, drawn from the *Hadikát 'lakalim*. Hardeo, one of the Gaharwar family, came with a slave-girl from Khairagarh, and took up his residence near Urcha. He was there invited to give his daughter, by the slave-girl, in marriage to the Khangar Raja of Karar, which he consented to do on condition that the Raja should come with all his brethren and feast with him to obliterate all distinctions of caste. At the feast, the Raja and all his family were treacherously murdered, and the Gaharwars took possession of the country between the Betwa and the Dussan, and they were called Bundelas, from *bandi*, a slave-girl.

The Bhilas

The Bhilas* are descended from Rajputs who have

* " This class combine with the pride and pretensions of the Rajputs, the cunning and roguery of the Bhils, and appear to be, without exception, a debauched and ignorant race, often courageous from constant exposure to danger, but invariably marked by an equal want of honor and shame. We never see any of those gleams of generous and chivalrous

mingled their sacred blood with that of the abased people of the jungle. They are half Rajput, half Bhil, but take the name of the Rajput clan to which they trace their origin. Nearly all the Chiefs of the Bhil States on the Vindhyan slopes belong to this class. They affect to ignore their Bhil taint, and desire to be regarded as an ancient Rajput clan. But the forest lineage is deeply impressed on every line of their faces, and on every feature of their character, and they need not be ashamed of it. Was not Rama's friend a Bhil ?

“ Rama's dear friend, renowned by fame
 Who of Nishada lineage came,
 Guha, the mighty chief adored
 Through all the land as sovereign lord.”

There are many other impure Rajput castes in Central India ; but the lowest of these consider themselves far above the Sudra, and Sir John Malcolm tells us that it was deemed an honor for the second Malhar Rao Holkar to marry a female of the Sarwi tribe, and indeed it would have been impossible, but for a ceremony that marked the impassable social gulf betwixt the bride and bridegroom. The sword of the Maharratta Chief, with his handkerchief bound round it, represented the bridegroom, and to that the lady was

spirit which every now and then break forth to redeem the failings and even the vices of true Rajputs:”—*Malcolm.*

* The Sarwis are said to be the descendants of twenty-four Rajputs, who alone survived their prince Anand Rao, Raja of Kolhapur, when that fortress was taken by stratagem. They were so ashamed of having survived their leader that, throwing aside their swords and shields, they assumed the name of Sarwi, a diminutive of the Rangri word *Sur* (cultivation), and thenceforward devoted themselves to husbandry. At the present day they are widely known as the best cultivators in Central India, and their skill in discovering the best places to dig wells, so as to come speedily to water, is extraordinary.

united. She married the wearer of the sword, and not the goatherd.

The Vaisya. The Vaisya caste comprises the great body of merchants and cultivators of the soil. There is nothing in the habits of the Central India Vaisya to distinguish them from their caste-fellows elsewhere. They have been, perhaps more recently, subjected to plunder and oppression ; and they have more often been swept along with predatory bands when all husbandry and trade was at an end. But now they are a quiet, settled, and industrious class, enterprising, very speculative in trade, and unwearying in the cultivation of their fields.

Sudra. There is little, too, to distinguish the Sudras* of Central India from those we meet with elsewhere. They are designated, as in other parts of India, by their art or occupation. They are cultivators, cowherds, shepherds, goatherds, goldsmiths, oilmen, gardeners, weavers, confectioners, labourers, distillers, rope-makers, musicians, dancers, buffoons, story-tellers, and sweepers.

Bhils. The Bhils have been settled from immemorial times in the Vindhyan jungles and the northern plains

“ The embodied spirit has a thousand heads,
A thousand eyes, a thousand feet, around,
On every side, enveloping the earth,
Yet filling space no larger than a span !
He is himself this very universe,
He is—whatever is, has been, and shall be--
He is the Lord of immortality !
* * * * *

The Brahman was his mouth, the kingly soldier
Was made his arms, the husbandman his thighs,
The servile Sudra issued from his feet.”

The Rigveda—*Indian Wisdom*, MONIER WILLIAMS, p. 24.

of Nimar.* According to a legend, prevalent among them, they are sprung from Mahadeva. That god, when sick and depressed in spirits, was reclining in a shady forest. A woman suddenly appeared before him, whose transcendent beauty at once cured him of his disorder and his melancholy. An intercourse sprang up between them, which resulted in the birth of numerous children. One of these, who was remarkable for his hideous person and malignant disposition, slew his father's favourite bull in a transport of wanton mischief. He was at once banished to the deepest recesses of the woods and mountains, and his progeny have ever since been stigmatized by the name of Bhil, or Nishada.† The same legend lays the scene of their first residence and exploits in Marwar, whence, driven south by other tribes, they settled in the gorges of the Vindhya and Satpura hills, and the forest-clothed banks of the Narbadda, Tapti, and Mahi, where, protected from oppression by the unfruit-

* At the time of the Mahomedan invasion the whole of Northern Nimar was ruled by a Bhilala chief, and his descendants are still chiefs of Mandhata, Bhangarh, and Sillani. In the Bhopawar agency there are many other petty Bhilala chieftains.

† "Afterwards the Munis beheld a great dust arise and said to the people who were nigh: 'What is this?' And the people answered— 'Now that the kingdom is without a king, the dishonest men have begun to seize the property of their neighbours. The great dust that you behold is raised, excellent Muni, by troops of robbers hastening to fall upon their prey.' The sages hearing this, consulted, and together rubbed the thigh of the king (Vena), who had left no offspring, to produce a son. From the thigh thus rubbed came forth a being of the complexion of a charred stake, with flattened features, and of dwarfish stature. 'What am I to do?' cried he eagerly to the Munis, 'sit down (Nishada),' said they; and thence his name was *Nishada*." His descendants, the inhabitants of the Vindhya mountains, are still called Nishada, and are characterized by these exterior tokens of depravity. Manu says that the Nishadas are the offspring of a Brahman father and Sudra mother.—Wilson's *Vishnu Purana*, Book I, Chap. 5.

ful and inaccessible character of the country, they have ever since dwelt, subsisting partly on the gains of husbandry, but chiefly on plunder, or black-mail levied on their more civilised neighbours.

Gonds.

The fastnesses between Bagli and Mandlesar are chiefly inhabited by Gonds,* who also have many settlements in Western Bundelkhand. The following account of this curious race is taken from the *Central Provinces Gazetteer* :—“ The Gonds have a religion and language of their own. They are sub-divided into about twenty tribes, and they count twelve and-a-half religious sects ; the separating characteristic being the number of gods worshipped by each. Seven is the number most usually adored. Births and marriages are celebrated by certain curious and peculiar customs, and a suitor will serve for a wife during a stated number of years, after the manner of Jacob. As a rule they bury their dead, and sometimes kill a cow over the grave ; but the more prosperous families now, occasionally, burn their dead. There is some

* “ The hill tribes and others, such as were symbolized by the monkey-armies of Hanumat, the Gonds of Central India, the Bhils of the hills to the west of the Gonds, the Khonds of the eastern districts of Gondvana, and the ranges south of Orissa, the Santhals and Kôls of the hills to the west of Bengal, the Khasias and the Garos of the eastern borders, are the present representatives of numerous wild Tartar tribes who swarmed into India at various epochs, some of them probably coming from Chinese Tartary and Thibet, and taking the course of the Brahmaputra into Bengal.”—*Indian Wisdom*, MONIER WILLIAMS.

“ The Bhagavata describes an individual of a dwarfish stature, with short arms and legs, of a complexion as black as a crow, with projecting chin, broad, flat nose, red eyes, and tawny hair, whose descendants were mountaineers and foresters. The Padma (Bhumi Khanda) have a similar description, adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protuberant belly. These passages intend, and do not much exaggerate, the uncouth appearance of the Gonds, Koles, Bhils, and other uncivilised tribes scattered among the forests and mountains of Central India.”—PROFESSOR WILSON.

tendency to suppose for the Gonds a Scythian origin, to view them as the stranded waif of some of the Scythian immigrations. Their language has some intermixture with Tamil." In the volume on Bundelkhand, of the *Gazetteer* of the North-Western Provinces, it is stated that many scattered remains of Gond rule are to be found in Lallatpur, and that "they appear to have been an agricultural people, possessed of a very high grade of civilisation."

The Minas, Moghias, Baugris, Gujars, Sondies, and ^{Predatory} tribes. other wild tribes are all gradually settling down to peaceful avocations ; and their predatory exploits will soon be as much tales of the past, as are the depredations of the Pindarries, or the wholesale murderers of the Thags.

The Bhats are said to have been created by Maha- ^{Charans and} ^{Bhats.} deva to attend his lion and bull. But they failed to prevent the lion from killing the bull, and Mahadeva was put to constant vexation and trouble in creating new bulls. He accordingly created the Charans of a bolder spirit, and gave them charge of his favorite animals ; and from that date no bull was slain. Whatever may have been the origin of these singular tribes, we find them to-day conversant with the rites proper to the worship of Siva and Parbati, and acting as priests, bards, and advisers to the Rajput Chiefs, who regard them with a veneration not unmixed with fear. The Charans are particularly honored and dreaded. They attend in great numbers at all feasts and marriages, and extort large sums by threats of sprinkling their blood on the assembled guests. To be the cause of a Charan's blood being shed is considered an almost inexpiable offence ; and any sacrifice

will be made to avert it. Nor can the threats of this strange people be disregarded, for in many instances, well authenticated, they have sacrificed themselves voluntarily, or slain one of their number to avenge a disregard to their exactions. They are divided into two sects—Kachili Charans and Maru Charans ; the former of which frequently trade in horses and camels, while the latter devote themselves more exclusively to reciting genealogies, legends, and ballads.

Malwa history.

Danji.

Vikramaditya.

The early history of Malwa is so barren of all but names, that it is neither very interesting, nor very instructive. Eight hundred and fifty years before Christ, Danji, to whom a divine origin is ascribed, and who some conjecture to have belonged to the solar race, but who was really, in all probability, a Bhil, restored the power of the Brahmins subverted by the Buddhists.* The family of this ruler is stated to have held supreme power for three hundred and eighty-seven years, when Putraj dying without issue, was succeeded by a prince of the Pramara clan of Rajputs, one of the four Agnikula† races, Adat Puar, who established a dynasty which continued to rule over Malwa for upwards of one thousand and fifty-eight years. Of this line the most famous king was Vikramaditya, who held a splendid Court at Ujjain (of which Kalidasa was an ornament), extended his power over nearly the

* The chief Buddha appeared about 600 years B. C.; but there were many Buddhas ; and there is reason to suppose that one appeared as early as 1,000 years B. C. Mr. Hodson (*Asiatic Researches*, vol. xvi, p. 446) gives a list of 130 Buddhas of the first order.

† The Agnikula clans are : the Pramar (now represented by the Puars of Dhar and Dewas); the Purihara (represented in Central India by the Raja of Nagôd); Chohan (of which the Maharao Raja of Bundi is the chief representative); the Solanki (represented by the Rana of Lunawarra in the Rewa Kanta).

whole of India, patronised letters, and established an era (56 B. C.) All the stories and dates in connection with this sovereign are perplexing and conflicting. Colonel Wilford has decided that it would require eight Vikramadityas to render the dates credible or intelligible. The celebrated Raja Bhôj is said to have been eleventh in descent from Vikramaditya, and to have transferred the capital from Ujjain to Dhar. He is also styled a patron of literature. But Dr. Hall* has shown that there is little foundation for his fame in this respect. Indeed, we really know nothing whatever of Raja Bhôj. Tradition assigns to him the construction of the great lake at Bhôpal, that once covered the district of Tal. A village near the ancient embankment is called Bhôjpur, and the word Bhôpal, indeed, is said to be derived from Bhôj *pal*—*pal* signifying embankment. After a long reign it is probable that Bhoj died, near the close of the eleventh century. Jai Chandra succeeded him; and on his death, none of the Puars being deemed worthy to rule,† the sovereign power was given to a Rajput noble of the Tuar clan, whose family continued to reign in Malwa for one hundred and forty-two years. At the end of this period a Chohan Rajput, Jagdeo, obtained power, and founded a dynasty that lasted one hundred and sixty-seven years. Raja Basdeo, the fourth of this line, assumed imperial titles and carried, we are informed, the arts to great perfection, increasing the fame and prosperity of his country. The last

The Tuar
dynasty.

The Chohan
dynasty.

* Journal, B. A. S., 1862.

† Elphinstone states that the grandson of Bhoj was taken prisoner, and that his country was conquered by the Raja of Guzerat; but that, soon afterwards, Malwa appears to have recovered its independence under a new dynasty.

of the Chohan dynasty was Maldeo, during whose reign a part of the kingdom was seized by a Vaisya, Anandeo ; but on the death of Maldeo the sovereignty passed to the Mahomedans. Malcolm asserts that all written and traditional accounts tend to prove that this Hindu kingdom of Malwa was a dependency of the great Hindu Empire of Delhi, though its princes may frequently have assumed sovereign power, and maintained it through several generations.

Mahomedan conquest.

Malwa * was finally subdued by the Mahomedans in 1231. In the year 1387, Shah Uddin appointed Dilawar Khan Ghori Governor of the conquered province of Malwa. This ruler, taking advantage of the flight of Mahomed Tughlak, and the confusion into which the empire was thrown by the invasion of Taimur, assumed the style and insignia of royalty. Dhar was his capital, and amid the ruins of that beautiful and interesting city are to be readily observed traces of the adaptation of Hindu temples to the taste and requirements of the Mahomedan intruder. The sculptured figures, proper to the Hindu pantheon, are everywhere defaced—on column, lintel, wall, and roof ; and in other cases great works of Hindu architecture show, by the state of their ruins, that they were used as mere quarries for the construction of moslem palaces and mosques. Dhar, however, did not long remain the capital. Alaf Khan, better known as Hoshang Shah, removed the seat of Government to Mandu, a site of surpassing beauty on a detached plateau, thirty-seven miles in circumference, on the brink of the great escarpment that overlooks the

1401.
Dhar.

Shah. 1405—
Hoshang
1432.

* Colonel Tod, *Trans. R. A. S.*, vol i., p. 201, & N., p. 230.

valley of the Narbadda. Hoshang Shah acquired fame as a conqueror. He fought with the principal chief of Gondwarra, and built on the borders of that region a city which still bears his name—Hoshangabad. This involved him in hostilities with the Mahomedan princes of the Bahmini dynasty ; against whom he was ultimately successful. He also defeated and slew Narsingh, the ruler of Gondwarra, and took possession of Kirla, the capital, with the adjoining country. Immediately after this conquest he died, having reigned for thirty years. His remains were carried from Hoshangabad to Mandu ; and a noble mausoleum, still in excellent preservation, was erected over them. Hoshang Shah's son, Mahomed Ghori, a weak and dissolute youth, was supplanted by his minister, Mahmud Khilji, who waged successful wars with the Princes of Guzerat and Mewar, and ruled with great splendour for thirty-three years. It is to this ruler chiefly that Mandu* owes its magnificence. His son and successor, Ghias Uddin Khilji, was indolent and luxurious, leaving the cares of government to ministers, who nevertheless do not appear to have abused the confidence reposed in them. During his long reign the court was gay and splendid, and the royal seraglio contained more than five hundred beautiful women. The next Prince Nuruddin (or Nasir-

Mahmud (I)
Khilji, 1435—
1482.

Ghias Uddin
Khilji, 1482—
1500.

Nuruddin,
1500—1512.

* This once splendid city is now a scene of utter desolation. Rank jungle overgrows palace and mosque, and no sound is heard save the shrill whistling of the kites and the growl of some beast of prey that lurks among chambers once gay with dance and song. Sir John Malcolm fitted up one of the old palaces as a residence for the hot weather, and it was not only necessary to clear away bushes and briars from the still beautiful apartments, but a tigress and her two cubs had to be dislodged before it was made habitable.

ud-din) was like his father luxurious and sensual; but was wanting neither in energy nor courage. His father handed down to him the kingdom in its integrity, and he, after a reign of eleven years, bequeath-

Mahmud (II.)
1512—1531.

ed it to his son, unimpaired in wealth or splendour. At the coronation of Mahmud seven hundred elephants in velvet housings walked in procession. But this grandeur was not destined to be long enjoyed undisturbed. His brothers intrigued against his authority, and to repress the disaffection they succeeded in creating, and to protect his own person, he had recourse to Rajput mercenaries, and took for his counsellor and friend Medni Rai, Chief of Chanderi. But his Mahomedan troops and Hindu auxiliaries could not live together in peace. Hostilities broke out; Mahmud fled to Guzerat; and Mandu remained in the hands of the Rajput soldiery. An army now marched from Guzerat to restore the royal fugitive, and after a siege of several months Mandu was taken, but not before nineteen thousand Rajputs had fallen in its defence. Medni Rai, however, escaped to Chanderi, where Mahmud attacked him, but the celebrated Rana Sanga of Mewar came to the aid of his feudatory, defeated Mahmud, and took him prisoner. With characteristic Rajput generosity, Rana Sanga* treated his captive with every indulgence, and at length set him at liberty. Mahmud returned this kindness, however, with the basest ingratitude. When Sanga died, Mahmud attacked his son Rana Rattan Singh, who applied

Siege of
Mandu.

* The Emperor Babar states, in his Memoirs, that Rana Sanga took Rathghar, Sarangpur, Bhiisa, and Chanderi from Mahmud; but that he (Babar) afterwards recovered Chanderi by storm: expelled the infidel, and made it "a City of the Faith."

INTRODUCTION.

for help to the King of Guzerat (son of him who had restored Mahmud to his throne). This help was accorded ; Mandu was taken, Mahmud was imprisoned, and afterwards put to death, and Malwa was annexed to the kingdom of Guzerat in 1531. Forty-one years after this date the autonomy of the latter State came to an end, and both Malwa and Guzerat again became provinces of the Delhi Empire.

The Mahrattas appeared in Central India for the first time in the year 1696. At this time Shah Dulla and Abdulla Khan (sons of a former Governor, Amir Khan) were Governors of Malwa. The intruders ascended the Nalcha Ghat, took Mandu, and, after a siege that lasted for three months, reduced Dhar. This incursion was merely predatory, as were a number of others ; and no permanent arrangement, or appropriation of territory, was made till the year 1732, when Dia Bahadur, Governor of Malwa, was defeated by a Mahratta army and slain, together with 2,000 of his men, in a general action fought near the village of Tirla, or Nimbkhera, between Dhar and Amjhera.* The Mahrattas

tas.

The battle of
Tirla, 1732.

* The hereditary Zamindar of Indore, whose grandfather conducted the Mahrattas into the province, gave Sir John Malcolm the following verbal account of their first settlement :—“ In the reign of Mahmud Shah, when the Moghul Empire had fallen to pieces, and the power of the Delhi monarch was rapidly declining, Dia Bahadur, a Brahmin, was Governor of Malwa. The corruptions and abuses of power which prevailed in the remnants of the Delhi territories were great, and the distress arising from a total neglect of the duties incumbent upon Government fell heavily upon the peaceful husbandman, who groaned under the oppression of every petty tyrant that chose to act the despot. The Thakurs of Malwa, impatient of the oppression and rapacious exactions imposed upon them and their people by Dia Bahadur, or his agents, represented their grievances to the Court of Delhi, and solicited redress. The reigning monarch, however, Mahmud Shah, held the reins of government with too weak a hand, and was too much immersed in indolent and effeminate pleasure to afford redress ; and the Rajput chiefs,

were aided by the Thakurs, Zamindars, and Hindu peasantry. The oppression of the Mahomedan Government, even when power was delegated to Hindus, had become hateful and intolerable to the people of Malwa.

Establish-
ment of Bri-
tish supre-
macy, 1818.

The further progress of the Mahrattas, and the ultimate establishment of British supremacy, will be treated of at length in the subsequent portion of this work.

“finding their hopes disappointed, turned their eyes towards the Raja “of Jaipur, Sevai Jai Singh, to whom they made their appeal. Jai Singh “was one of the most powerful and able of those Rajas of Hindustan who still remained obedient to the Emperor; his allegiance, how-“ever, had begun to waver in consequence, it is supposed, of an affront “he had received, and a secret intercourse was established between him “and the Peishwa Baji Rao, the object of which was believed to be “the subversion of the Mahomedan power. The Rajput Chiefs of “Malwa preferred their complaints to him: he recommended them “to invite the Mahrattas to invade the province. Rao Nand Lall, “Chaudri, was then a zamindar of wealth and consequence, and “maintained a body of 2,000 horse and foot, who were paid from his “own revenues. He had also charge of the different posts that “guarded the fords of the Narbadda, and he was, on this account, “selected to treat with the Mahrattas, and promote the invasion. The “army of Baji Rao was encamped on the plains of Barhanpur, and a “force of about 12,000 men under Malhar Rao Holkar formed the van. “Rao Nand Lall deputed a vakil to Malhar Rao with an invitation to “enter Malwa, and on assurance of all the passes being left open for his “troops, and of all the zamindars aiding the invaders. The Mahrattas, “in consequence, marched and crossed the Narbadda at a ford near Ak-“barpur, a village between Dharmpore and Mahesar. Dia Bahadur, hav-“ing in the meantime received intelligence of their approach, had moved “with a force beyond Amjhera and blocked up the passes which lead to “Tanda, by which he supposed the enemy meant to ascend to the table-“land. The Mahrattas, however, being favored by the zamindars and “inhabitants were conducted up an unguarded pass, called the Bhairu “Pass, a few miles to the east of Mandu, and having brought up their “whole force on the plain without opposition, they afterwards encountered “Dia Bahadur at a village called Tirla where the latter was defeated “and slain and his troops dispersed. From that period the Mahrattas ob-“tained permanent rule in Malwa.”

Order and prosperity are now established in Central India on a firm and broad basis. The ravages of war and plunder are being everywhere obliterated. Long deserted villages are once more peopled ; great tracts of country laid waste by Mahratta and Pindarry hordes are now covered with waving corn ; the centres of trade and industry are again brimming with life ; thags and dakaits have been swept off the old highways ; while new roads and lines of railway make the great pulse of commerce beat with an invigorated systole and diastole. Chiefs, bad and good, active and indolent, succeed one another, doing and undoing, changing and neglecting : but the people see and feel behind the vicissitudes of local rule, a power exerted upon comparatively unchanging principles, that is ever checking the evil and promoting the good, and bringing order and shape out of anarchy and confusion.

A great complaint is always steaming up about the dearness of food. Within the last few years, prices have doubled ; and pulses and cereals once abundant and cheap, are now stored up in smaller granaries, and sold at a higher rate. The new roads and the railway carry them away. Clothing, too, has risen in price. The cotton once gathered everywhere in little bundles and cheaply manufactured in every hamlet, is now packed up in huge bales to go beyond the seas. In former days, when the rain fell moderately and seasonably, and when the locust army of predatory chiefs spared the ripened crops, boon Nature dispensed a rude abundance ; and the harvest festivals were celebrated with heartfelt rejoicings and thankfulness. But now the conditions of life are changed. Occasional abundance has been exchanged

for a constant sufficiency. Prices rule high ; but are steady. New elements of comfort has been introduced into life and are widely enjoyed. Food and clothing come from other provinces and otherlands. Wages have risen ; and new modes of industry have been created. Since war, plunder and every form of violence have been suppressed, the produce of husbandry has, of course, immensely increased, and the source of the present murmur really is that wealth is now more moderately and equally distributed.

The Agent to
the Governor-
General.

The highest representative of the Paramount Power in Central India, is the Agent to the Governor-General, who resides at Indore. His authority is the unifying principle that pervades the administration of the many States committed to his care. He is the friend and counsellor of all the ruling Chiefs ; he is the guardian of Chiefs during their minority ; and he is the medium of communication between the Imperial Government and the native Durbars. He is moreover a minister of war for Central India ; having large bodies of troops at his disposal. He exercises the functions of a High Court of Justice, original and appellate, within the limits of Residencies and Cantonments. He has supreme control over the collection of the opium tax, with the designation of Opium Agent ; and the payment of tribute, relief, and other feudal charges, to which the protected States are liable, is made under his instructions.

The following is a list of officers who have been successively appointed to discharge these responsible and arduous functions :—

1. *Lieut.-General Sir John Malcolm, G.C.B., in Political and Military charge of Central India.*

Major P. Vans Agnew, on a Mission with Holkar from December, 1817, to September, 1818.

2. *G. Wellesley, Esq., Resident, June, 1818, to November 12th, 1829.*

Major J. Stewart, offg., Feby., 1829, to Jany., 1830.

C. R. Cartwright, Esq., offg., February to August 12th, 1830.

G. Wellesley, Esq., from August 13th, 1830, to November 11th, 1831.

Major T. Robinson, offg., from November 12th, 1831, to February 29th, 1832.

3. *W. B. Martin, Esq., Resident, March, 1832, to Decr., 1833.*

Major T. Robinson, offg., January to March, 1834.

4. *John Bax, Esq., Resident, March, 1834, to Jany., 1840.*

Major W. Borthwick, offg., February to June, 1840.

5. *Lieut.-Col. Sir Claude Wade, K.C.B., Resident, June, 1840, to March, 1844.*

6. *R. N. C. Hamilton, Esq. (afterwards Sir R. N. C. H. Bart.), Resident, 4th April, 1844, to March, 1854.*

Sir Robert N. C. Hamilton, Bart., Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, April, 1854, to 4th April, 1867.

Col. H. M. Durand (afterwards Sir H. M. Durand, K.C.S.I.), offg. Agent, Govr.-Genl., April to Decr. 14th, 1857.

Sir R. N. C. Hamilton, Bart., Agent, Govr.-Genl., December, 1857, to April 4th, 1859.

7. *Col. Sir Richard Shakespear, K.C.B., Agent, Govr.-Genl., May 5th, 1859, to October, 1861.*

Major Keatinge, offg. Agent, Govr.-Genl., October, 1861, to December, 1861.

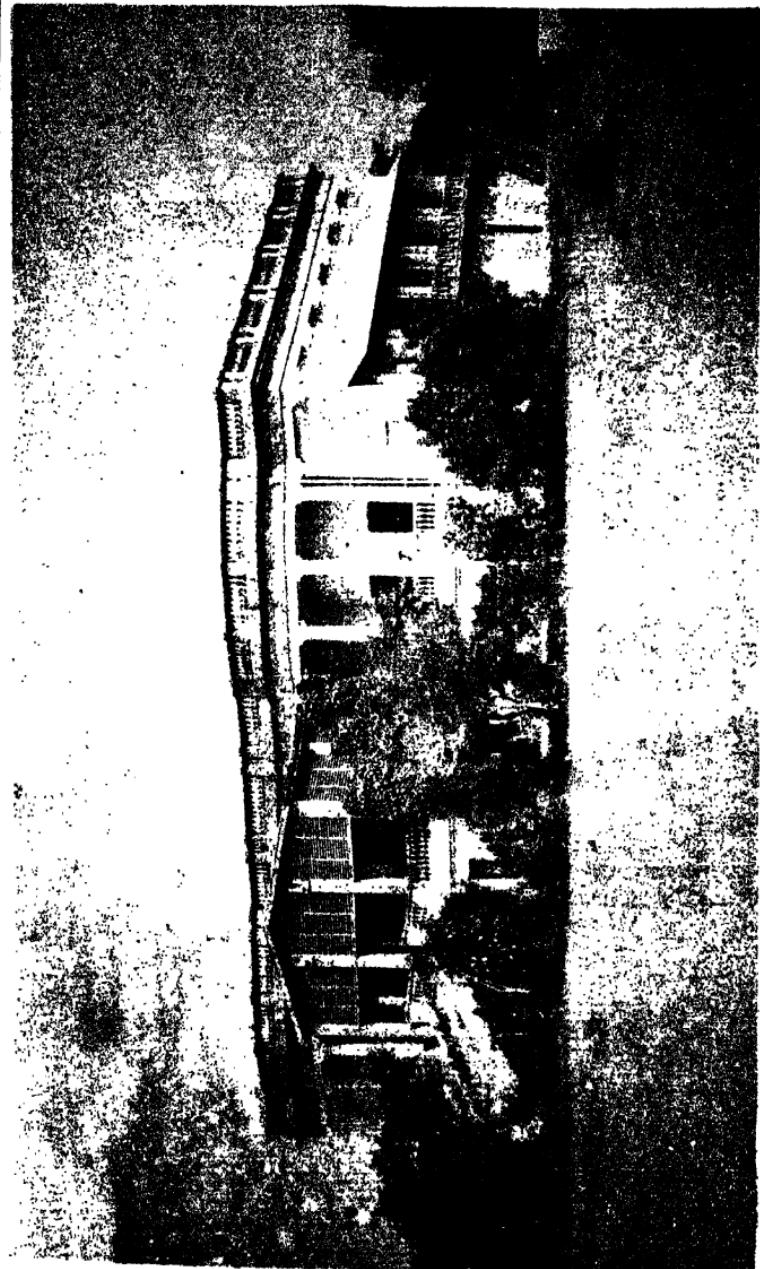
8. *Col. R. J. Meade, C.S.I.* (now Sir R. J. M., K.C.S.I.), Agent, Govr.-Genl., December 5th, 1861, to March 8th, 1869.

9. *Col. H. D. Daly, C.B.* (now Lieut.-General Sir H. D. D., K.C.B.), Agent, Govr.-Genl., 8th March, 1869.

Col. J. Watson, C.B., V.C., Aide-de-Camp to the Queen, offg. Agent, Govr.-Genl., 16th April, '73 to Feby. 28, '74.

Lieut.-General Sir Henry D. Daly, K.C.B., Agent, Govr.-Genl., from February, 1874.

“ * The multiplicity of petty Chiefs and the peculiarity of the tenures on which they hold their States, founded as they are on the measures adopted for the pacification of the country after the Pindarry war, necessitate, on the part of the British Government in Central India, a more minute interference in the affairs of the Chiefs than it is usual or expedient to exercise in the States of Rajputana. Under the Mahrattas, as had previously been the case under the Mahomedan Governors, the petty Chiefs in Central India exercised but limited powers within their respective States; and on the establishment of British supremacy in these provinces, the officers of the British Government naturally assumed the position of arbiters of all differences by which the public peace could be disturbed, and of high judicial functionaries to whom all sentences of life and death were referred, except in the case of offences committed within the jurisdiction of the larger States which had vitality enough to preserve peace within their limits. In the case of the larger States, it is only when the offender belongs to one State and the plaintiff to another, that the representative of the British Government adjudicates the case.



'In so far the Political Agents in Central India discharge the duties which are sometimes performed by the court of *vakils* in Rajputana. But the minor Chiefs refer all serious cases, more especially those involving capital punishment, whether inter-jurisdictional or not, to the Political Agents."

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Average Rainfall

MONTHS.	Indore, 1868 to 1877.		Manpur, 1872 to 1877.		Ratlam, 1868 to 1877.		Nimach, 1868 to 1870 & 1874 to 1877.		Agar, 1868 to 1877.		
	Total.		Total.		Total.		Total.		Total.		
	Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.	
January	0.52		0.49		0.23		0.00		0.11
February	0.38		0.87		0.33		0.23		0.49
March	0.03		0.00		0.00		0.00		0.05
April	0.22		0.05		0.00		0.02		0.07
May	0.23		0.43		0.17		0.40		0.35
			1.38		1.84		0.73		0.65		1.07
June	6.84		6.09		5.99		2.83		3.96
July	11.43		11.25		12.77		11.34		11.87
August	7.60		8.82		11.50		7.41		10.73
September	7.22		8.62		9.07		9.90		7.81
			33.09		34.47		39.33		31.48		34.37
October	0.53		0.18		0.40		1.22		0.28
November	0.08		0.03		0.00		0.03		0.00
December	0.20		0.07		0.14		0.30		0.49
			0.81		0.28		0.54		1.55		0.72
Total	...		35.28		36.90		40.60		33.68		36.16

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in Central India.

Sardarpore, 1868 to 1877.		Satna, 1872 to 1877.		Nowgong, 1868 to 1877.		Guna, 1871 to 1877.		Morar, 1872 to 1877.		Bhôpal, 1868 to 1877.	
Total.		Total.		Total.		Total.		Total.		Total.	
Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.	Month.	Season.
0·29		0·62		0·39		0·43		0·11		0·69	
0·42		0·78		0·32		0·33		0·55		0·11	
0·03		0·27		0·20		0·17		0·21		0·00	
0·01		0·07		0·16		0·09		0·00		0·00	
0·06		0·20		0·27		0·65		0·40		0·09	
—	0·81	—	1·94	—	1·34	—	1·67	—	1·27	—	0·89
5·18		4·52		4·84		8·62		1·84		5·98	
9·74		18·72		16·36		13·40		14·39		19·98	
6·30		12·25		12·13		12·01		8·52		12·27	
6·45		5·71		7·76		5·32		10·43		10·85	
—	27·67	—	41·20	—	41·09	—	39·35	—	35·18	—	49·08
0·48		0·70		0·95		0·28		0·14		0·72	
0·12		0·00		0·00		0·64		0·00		0·14	
0·27		0·05		0·18		0·04		0·18		0·39	
—	0·87	—	0·75	—	1·13	—	0·96	—	0·27	—	1·25
29·85		43·89		43·56		41·98		36·72		51·17	

OPIUM.

Opium an important item of revenue.

THE Government of India derives an annual revenue of more than six million sterling from (1) a monopoly of the growth, manufacture, and sale of opium in its own territory ; and (2) from an exportation tax on the manufactured drug produced in the Native States.

Mode of obtaining revenue from opium in British territory.

In British territory the Agents of Government enter into annual engagements with the cultivators, under a system of pecuniary advances, to sow a certain quantity of land with the poppy,* and the drug is purchased from the cultivators in its raw state at a fixed rate of Rs. 5 per seer (2 lbs.) It is then made up into balls and packed in chests, each chest containing 1 maund, 28 seers, and 2 chittaks of opium, or about 140 lbs. The Government announces the number of chests it intends to dispose of during the year, and auction-sales are held accordingly at fixed periods.

The monopoly.

The average number of chests thus sold annually during the last ten years is about 46,000 ; and the average price per chest sold by auction may be taken at Rs. 1,400. The cost to Government of each chest is about Rs. 400 ; so that the profit by the sale

* *Papaver somniferum*, and *p. officinale* ; *chosa*, Sans. ; *post*, Hind. ; *casseia*, Tel. ; *abunâm* (father of sleep), Arab.—Opium, *Afîm* ; Hind., *Afîm*, Arab., Hind., and Pers.—“ Experts tell us of three varieties of poppy, —the white, the red, and the purple; the former, though yielding the least opium, is known to suit the climate and soil of Benares and Behar best. The purple kind flourishes luxuriantly in Malwa, and is said to yield three times as much morphia as the white. The morphia from the red holds a middle place.”—*Saturday Review*, 10th August, 1878.

is fairly estimated at 100*l* for every chest sold, or a net revenue in round numbers of four million sterling.

From opium grown in the Native States the Government of India derives its revenue in a much simpler manner. Scales are set up in different places, and responsible officers are appointed to superintend weighments. The merchant comes with a memorandum showing the number of chests he wishes to send to Bombay, and at the same time handing over to the office of collection, *hundis*, or bills payable at sight in Bombay, for the entire number of chests he wishes to despatch. The chests are received, and after being counted and numbered, a proportion of 10 per cent. of the whole consignment is selected at hazard, and the contents are weighed. From this criterion the average weight of the whole consignment is estimated. To give an example:—a merchant wishes to send 100 chests from Indore to Bombay for export to China. He first gives a memorandum showing the number of chests he has to send (100), accompanied by *hundis* on stamped paper for Rs. 65,000 (at Rs. 650 per chest). The chests are then received into the Government godown, or weighing house, where each chest is numbered from 1 to 100. The officer in charge selects ten chests, which are opened in his presence and carefully weighed. At 140lbs 4 oz., the amount allowed for each chest, the proper weight of these ten chests is 1,402*1* lbs. ; but on weighment we will suppose they are found to aggregate 1,407*1*₂ lbs., or 5 lbs. more than the allowance. The average for the whole consignment is calculated on this basis, and 50lbs. are withdrawn from one of the chests, weighed and returned to the

Mode of obtaining revenue from opium in the Native States.

The export duty.

How weighments are made.

merchant, but not included in the consignment. In a similar manner, if the actual weight of the ten selected chests be less than the standard amount, the merchant is permitted to make good the deficiency in like proportions:—the object being to obtain an average throughout the consignment of 140 lbs. 4 oz. per chest.

Cost of collecting duty.

While the cost of collecting revenue from opium in British India has been estimated at two million sterling, the whole of the duty levied on Malwa opium may be considered net revenue. The actual cost of collection is about Rs. 14,600; but this is more than covered by the stamp-duty realised on *hundis*.

The two modes mutually dependent.

These two methods of obtaining revenue from the produce of the poppy, though so dissimilar, harmonise, to a certain degree, and are dependent on each other. China can only consume a certain amount of opium in the year, and Government assumes the right of supplying a certain proportion (about two-thirds) of this quantity; there is therefore only a market for Malwa opium equal to the entire demand, less the Government supply. The rate of export duty brings the price of the coarser and more cheaply grown and manufactured Malwa opium up to a figure that permits the more costly and highly-flavored Bengal drug to compete with it on reasonable terms; while the annual out-turn and sales of the Government factories have to be so regulated as to leave a fair market for the Malwa article, and not to discourage the cultivation of the poppy in the Native States.

History of the export duty.

When the attention of Government was first directed to the subject, the imposition of an export

duty on Malwa opium did not recommend itself, and for upwards of two years Government assumed the exclusive right of purchasing opium produced in the Native States. A scheme for effecting this purpose was adjusted in December, 1826, between the British Government on the one hand, and the States of Indore, Dewas, Ratlam, Jaora, Kôta, Sillana, Partabgarh, Amjhera, and Sitamau on the other. This scheme was embodied in the following engagement, as far as it affected the State of Indore. With the other principalities similar engagements were contracted.

An Engagement between the British Government and the Maharaja Holkar's Government regarding opium. (In the Persian language).*

Engagement regarding the exclusive right of purchasing opium.

I.—The Maharaja's Government engages to confine the cultivation of poppy in his territories within an extent calculated to yield a quantity not exceeding in any year 5,000 Surat maunds of dry opium, each maund consisting of 4 *punseiris*,† and each *punseiri* weighing 401 Ujjain rupees, or 391 new, or 407 old Farrakhabad *kaldar* rupees.

Cultivation limited.

II.—Of the quantity of opium produced in the Maharaja's territories, 1,000 maunds, or more, if required, may be reserved for internal consumption ; the remainder, not exceeding 4,000 maunds, shall be delivered to, and received by, the British Government.

A certain quantity reserved for internal consumption.

III.—The Maharaja's Government shall, each year, on or before the 1st of July, declare to the Company's Opium Agent in Malwa the quantity of opium which

Declaration of amount to be delivered to Government.

*A summary of this Engagement will be found in Vol. III., p. 348, of Aitchison's Treaties (1876), No. CXV.

† Five seers, or one *dharri*.

they may propose to deliver under the above stipulation at the end of the year.

The quality of the opium.

IV.—The opium delivered to the British Government shall consist of pure opium in dry cakes, such as their Agent is in the practice of purchasing from the merchants in Malwa. It should be delivered and weighed in all November and December, at the Honorable Company's godowns at Indore or Mehidpur, as may be desired by the Company's Opium Agent, who may reject whatever opium shall be considered by him adulterated, damp, mildewed, or otherwise faulty.

The price of the opium.

V.—The British Government engages to pay for the opium to be received by it under the above stipulations at the rate of 30 Farrakhabad kaldar, or Ujjain Indore hali rupees for each *punseiri*, by instalments as follows: one of 1,20,000 rupees on the 1st of November; one of 1,20,000 rupees on the 1st of January; one of 1,20,000 rupees on the 1st of March; and the balance of the account to be settled as soon as the opium shall have been delivered and weighed.

Smuggling.

VI.—The Maharaja's Government engages to prevent, to the best of its power, the exportation of opium from and through his territories, not having the sanction of the British authorities, and to confine the sale of opium for internal consumption in his territories to vendors under its license; any quantities passing in and out that may be stopped of their own motion by the officers or agents of the Maharaja's Government, shall be delivered over to the Company's Agent, and the Maharaja's Government will receive two-thirds of the value of the same, rated at

80 rupees per *punseiri*, if pure and good, or less in proportion to the quality, if of inferior quality. The British authorities, moreover, shall be at liberty to cause to be stopped and appropriate any opium herein prohibited which they may discover passing through the Maharaja's territories, and for all such, the Maharaja's Government shall receive one-third of the value rated according to the quality as above stated.

VII.—The British Government engages to pay ^{The price of the mono-} the Maharaja's Government at the end of each year, the ^{poly.} sum of Farrakhabad or Ujjain Indore rupees 1,00,000, provided it shall have faithfully observed the conditions of this engagement.

VIII.—The British Government further engages, ^{The price of the mono-} on the like condition, to pay to the Maharaja's Govern- ^{poly.} ment, in each year, a sum equivalent to the net profit derived on the sale of 200 *pecul* chests of opium, containing each 14 *punseiris*, calculated with reference to the average of prices obtained at the Company's sales in Calcutta and Bombay, of the Malwa opium of the previous season.

IX.—This engagement shall hold good as long as ^{The duration of the Engagement.} the British Government may deem it expedient to maintain special arrangements for the control of Malwa opium.

A monopoly* in the opium produce of Central India ^{Profits of the monopoly.} was thus established, which on an average yielded an annual revenue of thirty-one lakhs ; but the engagements had scarcely subsisted six months ere their policy and justice were called in question, and the result was that, in the middle of 1829, they were set

* The Agra Guide and Gazetteer, Part II, p. 179.

aside, the purchase system abandoned, and a transit duty levied upon the opium in its passage through the Company's districts to the sea-coast.

Reasons for abandoning the monopoly.

The reasons for abandoning the opium monopoly in Central India were thus summarily stated by the British Government :— 1st, that evils of a serious nature were inflicted by the monopoly system upon all who came within the sphere of its operation ;

Impracticability of limiting production.

2nd, that it was found impracticable to enforce that part of the original scheme which contemplated a positive reduction of the quantity of poppy cultivated ; 3rd, that the measures for controlling the transit and exportation of Malwa opium were vexatious and oppressive to the people, and unpalatable

Preventative measures objectionable.

4th, that the efficiency of the system was materially impaired by that

Impossibility of stopping smuggling.

practice of smuggling which it had been found impossible to prevent, owing principally to the intervening scattered possessions of Sindia which could

The demoralising effects of smuggling.

not be included in the general arrangements ; 5th, that the repeated and desperate efforts made to pass

the opium beyond the limits of the restrictions, by large armed bands of smugglers and their open systematic defiance of the local authorities, operated to demoralise and disorganise the country, and to revive the turbulent habits of the Minas and other uncivilised tribes, in a degree which demanded the

Injury to private trade.

most serious consideration ; 6th, that the monopoly, if effectual, must tend to destroy the internal trade of the country by depriving it of the most valuable article of commerce ; and, lastly, that a system unavoidably fraught with so many evils could not be really acceptable to the native rulers, who had

entered into the opium Engagements, or be otherwise than extremely hurtful to their feelings and interests.*

* The following passages are taken from Sutherland's *Sketches*, as quoted by Aitchison, Vol. III, p. 332:—"It is remarkable enough that in discussing and negotiating these measures, the Government of that day avoided the agency of the most distinguished of their servants, who held the principal political authority, Sir David Ochterlony and Sir Charles Metcalfe, whose opinions were known to be adverse to the system, and went to work either through the medium of the Opium Agent who had been established in Malwa and Rajputana, or directly with the local agents at the several Courts. Government must have known that their measures were both offensive and injurious to the chiefs and people of these regions, but they did not know the extent to which they were so. They did not know that they had raised up a cloud of spies and opium-seizers, whose hand was in every man's house and in every man's cart; that they were teaching the Governments of these countries to lend us their aid to forward views most opposed to the interests of their own subjects, whether agricultural or commercial, or to the extent to which the odium of the whole system fell upon themselves.

"It has often been a source of just complaint that the Indian Government do not receive from their officers that free and manly description of the evils which peculiar measures are calculated to produce when it is known or suspected that such exposition would not be palatable, and in no case has this been more apparent than in the negotiation of our opium treaties in Malwa and Rajputana, and in the adoption of measures necessary to support their stipulations, all of which were alike subversive to the power of the princes of those regions, and destructive to the best interests of their subjects. Government was not entirely ignorant of the injustice and evil tendency of those measures, but neither was it fully aware of the extent of the evil which they inflicted.

"It was, however, soon discovered that the system did not work well for us; that opium found its way to the foreign settlements of Daman and Diu for exportation to the China market, in such quantities as injuriously to affect our monopoly prices there, and it was sought to negotiate new treaties with the several States, which should strike at the root of this evil by limiting production, for prices in Malwa and Rajputana had continued so high as to serve as a premium. The Rajrana of Kôta was the first who had the courage to speak out, and Sir Charles Metcalfe being at the time on a tour through Rajputana, he was not only listened to, but the voice of complaint was sure to reach Government in a shape that could not be resisted. Revenue to the extent of upward of a million sterling was, however, considered to be involved in the discussion,

The extent of cultivation increased since monopoly abandoned.

The extent of poppy cultivation has greatly increased since the abandonment of the monopoly. The revenue at first realised from the transit-duty was about Rs. 16,00,000 ; while in 1877 it amounted to Rs. 2,60,51,350.

Malwa opium under existing conditions.

The opium* grown in native territory is usually spoken of as Malwa opium, by far the greater portion of it being produced in the dominions of Sindhia, Holkar, and other Chiefs of the Central India Agency. A considerable quantity is also grown in Udaipur, and some of the other Rajputana States bordering on Central India ; but the entire produce of this part of the country is brought to one or other of the Government scales established at Udaipur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Dhar, or Indore, where it is weighed and taxed before leaving Malwa for Bombay. Opium grown in the territory of the Maharaja Gaikwar is in a similar manner brought to the scales at Ahmedabad, and thence transmitted to Bombay. The average annual number of chests weighed at Ahmedabad is about 1,200. The returns of weighments made at Ahmedabad, Udaipur, Ratlam, Ujjain, Dhar, and Indore are included in the Malwa Opium Agency, and are under the direct supervision of the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, who is the Opium Agent for Malwa.

" and as that is a sum which no Government can readily afford to part with, this struggle against nature continued for some time longer. At last opium carriers armed to oppose opium-seizers, and a sort of civil war had in some places arisen, which was likely to become more extended. It was therefore found necessary to relinquish the system and to endeavour to bolster up our internal agriculture and trade, by levying a and protecting duty on the commerce of these states."

* The Calcutta Review, the Indian Opium Revenue, sd. D. W. K. B.

There is a striking difference between the conditions of poppy cultivation in the Native States and in British territory. In our own territory, the cultivator has everything found him. He incurs no risk, and he exercises no judgment in the selection of ground. Advances of money are made to him, he is guaranteed a fixed price for the raw material produced, and he is invited, urged, and encouraged to grow opium on certain grounds selected and allotted: while the cultivator in native territory has everything on his head ; the outlay for well, bullocks, implements, and manure ; the cost of cultivation ; the chances of unfavourable weather ; and the fluctuations in the value of the produce.

The table-land of Malwa, between 1,300 and 2,000 feet above the level of the sea, is peculiarly favourable to the cultivation of the poppy : the soil is rich ; the climate mild ; and water abundant.*—“The land prepared is generally the thick, black loam, known as cotton soil. It must be situated in close proximity to a well, or to the *bandh* (or dam) of a tank or river, as the greatest essential to the crop is a regular and sufficient supply of water at fixed periods. High ground commanded by a supply of water, and having a gradual slope on all sides, is the most favourable position for opium culture. As soon as the rain crops have been gathered, and when the cold weather, which generally commences in November, is at hand, operations are commenced. The ground is first ploughed four times, if possible,

Poppy cultivation in British territory and Native States contrasted.

The cultivation of the poppy in Malwa.

The soil.

* The Calcutta Review.—Cf. Tod's minute description of poppy cultivation and preparation. It will be found in Vol. II, p. 580, of his *Rajasthan*.

Manure. on four successive days: it is then harrowed, the heavy clods of earth lying on the surface being carefully broken and pulverized. Next manure * is applied, generally at the rate of from ten to twelve cartloads an acre. The ground is divided into squares of from ten to twelve feet, separated from each other by ridges of earth; the beds thus formed being in rows sloping from the rising ground whence comes the water-supply. Channels are then dug to enable the water drawn from the well to run into and flood each of the square beds. These are so arranged that the cultivator can divert the course of the water, from one row of beds to the next, by making or closing temporary openings in the channel. When all these preliminaries are arranged, the ground is flooded, and on the next day the opium seed is sown, being scattered thickly over the prepared surface. Another inundation follows on the day after the sowing, and again seven or eight days afterwards. The crop generally appears on the eighth or tenth day after the seed is sown. The first growth is thick and vigorous. When the plants have grown to the height of six or seven inches, and are covered with leaves, the beds are weeded, and at least one-half, or sometimes as much as two-thirds, of the young plants are pulled out and thrown away; the strongest and healthiest only being left to grow to better size in the extra room thus made for them.

Irrigation.

Sowing.

Weeding.

After this the earth round the remaining plants is loosened to allow of their free growth. A fortnight

* Sugarcane and opium are the only crops in Malwa for which the land is manured. The rich black soil will produce the usual cereals for thirty successive years without deterioration.

later, another watering is given, and again a week more, by which time the plants are well grown, and the buds of the flower forming. When the flower opens, *In flower.* no more water is given. In a day or two the flower drops off, and the capsule remaining on the stalk gradually swells until it has attained its full growth. The crop is then ready, and the process of extracting the juice from the capsule commences. *Ripe.*

Each* poppy-head or capsule is tapped by means of an instrument like a three-pronged fork ; the incisions pierce the outer coats (epicarp and sarcocarp) of the capsule only, being made from the base upwards, sufficiently to allow the juice to exude slowly. Each poppy-head is thus tapped three times ; the incisions being generally made in the afternoon, and the juice, which exudes and coagulates, collected on the following morning. Only a small quantity is obtained from each poppy-head, and this process of collection is the most tedious. One man working with the scraper from 7 to 10 A. M. (the best hour of the day for collecting the opium) will, with difficulty, get together three or four ounces of *chick*, as the exuded juice is called. When it is remembered that each poppy-head has to be tapped three times and scraped as often, it may be conceived that this method of collecting the opium juice entails a vast amount of labour. The juice is stored.

* Malcolm, Vol. II, p. 45, describes the process of preparation thus :—“ The juice is gathered from the poppy in a small brass-pot or cocoanut shell containing a little linseed oil : it is next pressed together in larger pots, and left in the linseed oil, till, after the rainy season, when it is removed, and being formed into flat cakes of about three or four inches diameter, one inch thick, and well sprinkled with the dry leaves of the poppy, it is exposed under shade of the air till sufficiently dry for sale.”

taken off the capsules is collected and thrown into earthen vessels, where it is mixed with linseed oil, in the proportion of two-parts of oil to one of *chick*, to prevent evaporation. Here the cultivator's interest in the opium ceases. He sells the *chick* to the *bannia* at the rate of from Rs. 6 to 7 per seer.

Sale.

Conditions
of weather
favorable to
cultivation.

The conditions most favorable to the growth of opium are clear, warm, sunny days, with little wind; and cool, dewy nights. Rain always injures the crop, beating down the young plants and damaging the heads. Frost, which is not at all exceptional in Malwa during the cold months, destroys the plant in one night, if it has not grown strong enough to resist the cold; and when the capsule is ripe for incision, rain causes the juice to dry up, while cloudy weather prevents it exuding, and strong winds damage the crop by knocking the capsules together.

A good crop
for the culti-
vator.

Opium is one of the best crops for the cultivator: the returns from it are large and quickly made, and the land, after the opium crop is removed, is available for another (cereal) crop during the year. The wells that have been sunk consequent on the increased attention to the cultivation of opium, have greatly improved the condition of the country.

Preparation
of the drug.

The *bannia*, or local dealer, having purchased the *chick* from the cultivator, prepares it for the market. It is tied up in lumps of from 20lbs. to 50lbs. in weight, and hung in double bags of sheeting cloth in a closed and dark room; while the spare linseed oil with which the *chick* is mixed is allowed to drop through. The bags remain suspended for a month or six weeks, during which period all the oil that can be separated comes away.

Drying.

They are then taken down, and their contents are emptied into large vats, from 10 to 15 feet in diameter. In these the opium is mixed together and worked up with the hand, until, having acquired a uniform color and consistence throughout, it becomes tough and capable of being formed into masses. It is then rolled into balls (the art of manipulating it Balls formed. in this state is confined to a small class), weighing about 10 or 12 ounces each ; and these being thrown as they are formed into baskets full of the chaff of the seed pods and dried opium leaves, in course of time harden until firm enough to admit of being packed. The opium is now ready for market, and Packing. is sold by the *dharri* (10lbs.)* The average price Price. per *dharri*, in Malwa, is from Rs. 40 to 70, fluctuating with the price in China.”

Malwa opium is known in China, and holds its place Character of Malwa opium. in the market for its strength and pungency, †—quali-

* Malcolm, writing more than fifty years ago, speaks of opium attaining the ‘extravagant price’ of Rs. 80 a *dharri*, while its normal price then was about Rs. 25 or 30 a *dharri*. Colonel Tod gives the following account of the fluctuations in the prices: From the year 1784 to 1801, the market price of the crude opium from the cultivator ran from 16 to 21 *Salimshahi* rupees per *dharri*, a measure of five *pakka* seers, each seer being the weight of ninety *Salimshahi* rupees. In the year 1801 it rose to Rs. 25; in 1804, to Rs. 27, gradually increasing, till in 1809 it attained its maximum of Rs. 42. In 1814 it fell to Rs. 29; while in 1817 it had risen to Rs. 33; and in 1820 to Rs. 39.—In 1860 opium fetched Rs. 44 per *dharri*; 1851, Rs. 46; in 1852, Rs. 39; in 1853, Rs. 34; in 1854, Rs. 40; in 1855, Rs. 45; in 1856, Rs. 30; in 1857, Rs. 56; in 1858, Rs. 59; in 1859, Rs. 56; in 1860, Rs. 62; in 1861, Rs. 55.

† The flavour and delicacy of opium excite as much attention in the East as those qualities in the wines of France and Spain do in Europe. A connoisseur will tell at a glance whether the dark juice in its earthen vessel is the produce of the poppy of Mandessor or Ratlam. In India, amongst the wealthy, old opium is valued as much as old Port at home, and for the same qualities—mellowness and softness. Opium of a good season, 20 or 25 years old, commands a fabulous price, and is only found in the houses of the rich.—*Annual Report, C. I. Agency*, 1873-74.

ties that imply purity. The Malwa dealers are well *Adulteration*. aware of this, and no adulterated opium is ever sent now from Malwa to China.* This was not always the

* The process of manufacture in Bengal is much more costly and laborious. I take the following account of it from Chambers's Encyclopaedia (1876) : " When the poppy-heads are the size of a hen's egg, and ready for operating upon, the collectors take a little iron instrument, called a *nashtar*, made of three or four small plates of iron, narrow at one end and wider at the other, and notched like a saw ; and with this they make several vertical wounds in each capsule as they move through the field. This is always done early in the morning before the heat of the sun is felt. During the day, the milky juice oozes out, and early on the following morning it is collected by scraping it off with a kind of scoop, called a *sittuha*, and transferred to an earthen vessel, called a *karrai*, hanging at the side of the collector. When this is full, it is carried home and transferred to a shallow, open, brass dish, called a *thalli*, and left for a time tilted on its side, so that any watery fluid may drain out. This watery fluid is called *passima*, and is very detrimental to the opium unless removed. The opium now receives daily attention, and has to be turned frequently, so that the air may dry it equally, until it acquires a tolerable consistency, which takes three or four weeks. It is then packed in small earthen jars, and taken to the Government factories. Here the contents of each jar are turned out and carefully weighed, tested, valued, and credited to the cultivators. The opium is then thrown into huge vats, which hold the accumulated produce of entire districts. Here the mass is kneaded, taken out, and made into balls or cakes for the market. This operation is conducted in long rooms, the workmen sitting in rows, and closely watched by overseers. Before each workman is a tray, and within easy reach is placed a tin vessel for holding as much opium as will make three or four balls. On the tray is another basin containing water, and a smaller tray ; on this latter stands a brass cup into which the ball or cake is moulded, also a supply of thin layers of poppy-petals, formed by laying them out over-lapping each other, and pressed down. These are prepared by women in the poppy-fields, and with these is a cup filled with a sticky fluid called *lewa*, made from opium of inferior quality. The operator begins his work by taking the brass cup, and placing in it one of the cakes of poppy petals, which he smears over with *lewa*, then adds other cakes of petals to overlap and adhere to the first until the cup is lined with a coating of petals. He now takes the opium, works it into a ball, and puts it into the cup, covering the top over with a layer of sticky petals smeared inside with *lewa*. Thus the ball is entirely covered with a coating of petals about as thick as a bank-note. The cups are then ranged on shelves in a vast drying room, where they are constantly turned and examined. Finally the balls of opium are taken out and packed in chests for the market.

case, however, for Sir John Malcolm* tells us that in the hands of the retail dealers it was often adulterated with pounded leaves, catechu, cow-dung, coarse sugar, and many other ingredients, which could be detected by incineration.

With regard to the cost of production, Sir John ^{The cost of production.} Malcolm writes :—“The average price of prepared opium was, twenty years ago, from five to six rupees, the seer being of the weight of 80 rupees. The rate paid to Government for each biga is regulated by the nature of the soil, the last crop upon it, the facility of irrigation, and whether solely appropriated for opium or a mixed crop ; the latter paying only from one and-a-half to three or four rupees, the former often from five to ten rupees, per biga : but though this is high, the

* Malcolm's Central India, Vol. II, p. 45 :—“The Government of Bombay, with a view of protecting the monopoly of this drug in Bengal, have laid a prohibiting duty of Rs. 12 per seer on Malwa opium exported to the sea-coast, and at the same time offered to purchase whatever quantity was for sale at a fair price. It will be necessary, if this plan succeeds, to take great care to preserve the purity of the drug ; for it is a remarkable fact that the adoption of the measures proposed by Mr. J. Fleming, M. P., when that learned and able public officer was at the head of the Medical Board at Calcutta, raised the Company's revenue on the opium produced in Behar from eight or nine lakhs of rupees (its average annual amount before 1797) to eighty lakhs, at which it has ever since continued. This was effected by the establishment of an agent instead of contractors, and by the pains taken to prevent the adulteration of the drug.”

Tod describes a mode of adulteration in his Rajasthan :—

“The adulteration is managed as follows :—A preparation of refined molasses and gum, in equal proportion, is added to half its quantity of opiate coagulum ; the mass is then put into caulktrons, and after being well amalgamated by boiling, it is taken out, and when sufficiently dry is well beaten and put into cotton bags, which are sown up in green bags and exported to Muska Mandi. The *Gussains* of these parts are the chief contractors for this impure opium, which is reckoned peculiarly unwholesome and is never consumed in Rajputana.”

culture of opium and sugar-cane, which is never undertaken but by substantial cultivators, is deemed the most profitable of all the branches of husbandry."

Cultivator's gains and losses on a biga under poppy in good biga* of opium, in a good season, a fair season, and a bad season. In the following table the same authority gives an estimate of the expenses and profits of cultivating one

bad season respectively :—

Expenses.

	Rs. As.
Five seers of opium seed	... 0 9
Manure, including conveyance	... 2 0
Watching the crop	... 4 0
Weeding, ploughing, and sowing	... 6 0
Gathering the opium and wounding the poppy	4 0
Watering the field nine times	... 6 0
Oil for putting the juice of the poppy in	... 1 0
Rent to Government	... 6 0
 Total expense	<u>29 9</u>

A good year.

Receipts in a good year.

Five seers <i>pakka</i>	... 40 0
Sale of seed, three maunds	... 4 0
	<u>44 0</u>
Deduct expenses	... 29 9
	<u>14 7</u>
Deduct village dues	... 1 8
 Net profit to cultivator	<u>12 15</u>

* What is a biga? A biga is a *jarib* of 100 hands: but the hand is large or small, as the Chief presses on the rights of the people, or the people on the rights of the Chief. Where the Chief was strong in old times, the hand was exceedingly small; still there is much discrepancy between the hands of different States. In Dhar, 100 hands measure 165 feet; in Ratlam, 100 hands measure 148 feet. In the N. W. P., at a rough estimate, three bigas go to an acre; but in Malwa, generally speaking, a biga rather exceeds half an acre.

<i>Receipts in a fair year.</i>			<i>Rs. As. A fair year.</i>
Seven and-a-half seers <i>kacha</i>	...		... 30 0
Sale of seed	...		... 2 11
			32 11
Deduct expenses and village dues		31 1	
Net profit to cultivator	...	1 10	
<i>Receipts in a bad year.</i>			<i>A bad year.</i>
Five seers <i>kacha</i> are sometimes the whole			
out-turn	...	...	... 20 0
Sale of seed	...	...	... 2 0
			22 0
Total expenses	...	31 1	
Loss to cultivator	...	9 1	

But, of course, the price rises in a bad season ; and the cultivator's gains and losses cannot be correctly estimated without calculating these fluctuations.

Since Sir John Malcolm* wrote, poppy-cultivation is more thoroughly understood, and the value of the drug has increased, as has also the cost of cultivation. The average profits now realised on a biga of opium land may be calculated at from Rs. 20 to Rs. 30 in a good year ; and in a bad year from Rs. 15 to Rs. 10.

In the different states of Malwa, however, the rent of land varies so much that it is impossible to estimate with any degree of precision the profits derived from cultivation. Moreover, other considerations must enter into any such calculation. One man, in digging a well, has to blast through several feet of rock, at an

The profits of
poppy-culti-
vation.

outlay of Rs. 1,000 perhaps ; another finds water comparatively near the surface and his well only costs him Rs. 300 : and again, one man with a large family has little to spend on labour, while to another this is a serious item in the expenditure.

A second crop on opium lands. As opium is only in the ground for four or five months,—during December, January, February, and March,—another crop is always obtainable from the land in the rains. Indian corn (*makka*) grows readily in the manured soil of old opium fields, and is very remunerative. It accordingly is often found occupying opium lands in June, July, August, September, and October. The cultivator gets, on an average, 480 lbs. of grain from a biga of *makka* grown on opium plots ; and he can sell this for Rs. 12 or Rs. 15, making a net profit perhaps of Rs. 10, which must be set down to the credit of the year's transactions in addition to the profits secured by opium.

The gain to the Chiefs from opium.

But it is not the cultivator alone who derives a profit from the land under poppy. The Native Chief who takes a high rent for opium land has a still deeper interest in the crop, while from land under wheat and other cereals he only gets a rent of from As. 12 to Rs. 3 per biga from irrigated land ; from such as produces the poppy, he gets from Rs. 5 to Rs. 30. Then again he taxes the opium that leaves his territory, netting from 12 to 25 per cent. on the value of the drug, and is thus a sharer in the gains of the trader, as he is in the profits of the cultivator. Sindia takes Rs. 24 as an export duty on every chest that leaves his territory. Holkar takes Rs. 12-8. Opium has of late years nearly doubled the revenue of these two Chiefs. The princes of Udaipur, Ratlam, Jaora, and Jhallawar

have also profited in a nearly equal degree; and the incomes of a hundred petty landholders in Malwa have been changed from a meagre subsistence into an ample revenue.

The consequence of this, combined with the strict limitation of the area under cultivation in our own provinces, is, that the area under poppy-cultivation in Malwa is steadily increasing. In Native States, it is difficult to estimate the exact extent of land under any particular crop, but a careful calculation, based on the yield of opium, shows that not much less than 200,000 acres of land in the principalities are devoted to this purpose. Malwa is becoming a great poppy-garden; and it is a question of much practical interest how far this expenditure of land and capital on the production of a pernicious drug to the exclusion of food-grain should be allowed to go. Col. Tod* tells us, that, in ancient days, the patriarchal Government of Mewar decreed that there should be to one *charras*, or hide of land, only one biga of opium, with nearly the same quantity of sugarcane and the usual complement of corn. These proportions now, however, are nearly reversed very often; and the cultivator is obliged to purchase for his family the ordinary cereals of the country that he may bestow his capital and

* *Annals of Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 583:—"To each *charras* of land there is attached 25 bigas of irrigated land for wheat and barley, with from 30 to 50 bigas more, called *mar* or *mal*, dependant on the heavens for water, and generally sown with grain. Of the 25 bigas of land irrigated from the well, the legislature sanctions one biga of opium."—Col. Tod adds,—"that the culture of the poppy to the detriment of more useful husbandry is increasing to an extent which demands the strong hand of legislative restraint must strike the most superficial observer in these regions." This was written in 1820.

labour on the profitable, but noxious, exotic. It* is not to be wondered at that, within a very few years, the normal price of grain in Malwa has risen to what would have been formerly considered all but famine rates.

Tod's sketch
of the intro-
duction and
extended use
of opium.

Col. Tod, in his *Rajasthan*, gives the following sketch of the introduction, and gradually extended use of this drug in Rajputana and Malwa :—" To Jehangir's commentaries we owe the knowledge that tobacco was introduced into India in his reign; but of the period when the poppy became an object of culture for the manufacture of opium, we have not the least information. Whatever may be the antiquity of this drug for medicinal uses, it may be asserted that its abuse is comparatively† recent, or not more than three centuries back. In none of the ancient heroic poems of Hindustan is it ever alluded to. The guest is often mentioned in them as welcomed by the *munivar piala*, or cup of greeting;

* In Malwa, the poppy is cultivated almost to the exclusion of cereals; the people depend for food mainly on imports. So completely are cities on the black soil isolated during the rains, with rivers and streams unbridged, that an interval of hundred miles marks the difference between those who bask in abundance, and those who are straitened to starvation. Wheat has often fallen to six seers for the rupee in Malwa, and its normal price varies between ten and fifteen. Whereas at Bhilsa and the Bari Parganna of Bhopal, the granaries of Central India, twenty seers is a minimum, and forty seers not unknown.—*Annual Report, C. I. Agency*, 1873-74.

† Herodotus, in describing the inhabitants of the larger islands of the Araxes, relates that they were wont to gather round a fire, and casting the fruit of some unknown tree into the flames, inhaled with delight the smoke and effluvia emitted by it, until they experienced all the delight and madness of intoxication (I., 202). St. John conjectures that this was the poppy the fumes of which were inhaled. Even in the Homeric age, opium (*nepenthe*) seems to have been used. [*Odyss. σ. 221.*] Certainly, in later times, the Spartan soldiers knew what to do with a poppy capsule—*Thucyd.*, IV., 26.

but nowhere by the *amal pani*, or infused opiate, which has usurped the place of the *phul-ka-arrak*, or essence of flowers. Before, however, the art of extracting the properties of the poppy, as at present, was practised, they used the opiate in its crudest form, by simply bruising the capsules, which they steeped a certain time in water, afterwards drinking the infusion, to which they gave the name of *tejarro*, and not unfrequently *post*, or poppy. This practice still prevails in the remote parts of Rajputana, where either ignorance of the more refined process, prejudice, or indolence, operates to maintain old habits.

“ The culture of opium was, at first, confined to the *Doab*, or tract between the Chambal and Kshipra, from their sources to their junction; but although tradition has preserved the fact of this being the original poppy nursery of Central India, it has long ceased to be the only place of the poppy’s growth, it having spread not only throughout Malwa, but into various parts of Rajputana, especially Mewar and Harraoti. But, though all classes, *Kumbis* and *Jats*, *Bannias* and *Brahmans*, try the culture, all yield the palm of superior skill to the *Kumbi*, the original cultivator, who will extract one-fifth more from the plant than any of his competitors.

“ It is a singular fact that the cultivation of opium increased in the inverse ratio of general prosperity; and that as war, pestilence, and famine augmented their virulence and depopulated Rajputana, so did the culture of this baneful weed appear to thrive. The predatory system, which succeeded Moghal

The cultivation of the poppy at first confined to the Chambal and Kshipra Doab.

Cultivation of poppy increases in inverse ratio to general prosperity.

despotism, soon devastated this fair region, and gradually restricted agricultural pursuits to the richer harvests of barley, wheat, and grain; till at length even these were confined to a bare sustenance for the family of the cultivator, who then found a substitute in the poppy. From the small extent of its culture, he was able to watch it, or pay for its protection from pillage. This he could not do for his corn, which a troop of horse might save him the trouble of cutting. A kind of moral barometer might, indeed, be constructed to show that the maximum of oppression in Mewar was the maximum of the culture of the poppy in Malwa."

Internal consumption. The consumption of the drug in Malwa* and Rajputana is still very great; little more than half of the yearly out-turn is exported. Sir Henry Daly, in his report for the year 1870-71, states that the habit of opium-eating in Rajputana and Central India is now almost universal. Opium is given to children in infancy; in manhood and strength all eat a *ratti* or two a day; and after middle age the quantity is increased. It is the stirrupcup of the Rajputs, and no visitor comes or goes without a draught of the *kusumbha* opium in a liquid form, spiced. It is taken by Rajputs on every occasion of conviviality or ceremony; as well as in the ordinary course of life, before food and after food, before lying down to rest and immediately on rising in the morning. The act of eating opium together is the form by which rival clans become reconciled, and personal

Rajput opium-eaters.

* Col. Meade says in his Report, 1866-67, that the best quality is sent to China, the second sort kept for home consumption, and the inferior description, termed *rabba*, chiefly disposed of in the Nizam's dominions.

friendships declared. To eat* opium together (*amal-lar-khana*) is the most inviolable pledge, and an agreement ratified by this ceremony is stronger than any adjuration. When a Rajput pays another a visit, the first question,—“have you eaten your opium yet?” On a birth-day, when all the Chiefs convene to congratulate their brother on another “knot” to his years, the large wassailcup is brought forth, a lump of opium is put therein, water is poured on it, and it is stirred and pounded with a stick till a solution is made, to which each helps his neighbour from the hollow of his hand. A Rajput is fit for nothing without his opium ; and Colonel Tod often dismissed his men of business to refresh their intellects by a dose, for, when its effects are dissipating they sometimes become almost imbecile. A Rajput will fast without complaint, but he cannot live without his opium. He believes that it soothes him ; that it kindles† his courage ; that it endows him with strength : that in days of trouble, it heals his sore spirit ; that on the eve of battle, it stirs up his latent courage ; that in moments of peril, it arms him with abnormal strength. When the Moghal Tyrant commanded Nahar Singh to enter the tiger’s den unarmed, the wild beast was so scared by the eyes of the Rajput, inflamed with opium and anger, that it was glad to slink away. So, too, when Raja Abhai Singh of Marwar, the first swordsman of Rajwarra, was challenged to decapitate a buffalo of unusual size at

* Tod.

† I find the following in Dr. Chevers’s Medical Jurisprudence.—“Forbes is in accordance with all old authorities when he says—that opium taken before a battle inspires temporary courage, or rather a dreadful frenzy.”

a single blow, he accomplished the task after swallowing a double dose of opium. A habitual* opium-eater will take as much as 180 grains of pure opium daily. When used in such quantities it becomes an expensive luxury, and an allowance† for opium is one of the emoluments of high officers of State at Rajput Courts.

Poppy oil.

Poppy oil is extensively used in Malwa and Rajputana. When the rich juice has been removed, the capsules are broken off and spread out on a smooth floor ; a little water is sprinkled over them, and being covered with a cloth they remain till the morning, when the cattle tread out the seed, and the husks are burnt, lest the oxen should eat them. A maund of seed will yield two seers of oil. Colonel Tod tells us that poppy oil was, in his day, more used for the lamp in Mewar than any other.

Different preparation.

I am indebted to a native friend for the following account of the different methods of using and preparing opium in Malwa :—The capsules of the poppy, seasoned with spices, are cooked and eaten. The dry capsules, when the seeds have been extracted, are sometimes moistened and sucked ; the water in which they have been moistened is also drunk. *Chendu* is

* In Europe, as much as a pint of laudanum is sometimes taken by the habitual opium consumer. In Turkey, an old opium-eater will take for his daily allowance as much as six drachms, or three hundred and sixty grains. The injurious effects of opium have been much exaggerated. Sir R. Christison and other medical authorities have shown that large doses may, in some cases, be habitually taken with impunity.—"Opium taken moderately," Sir Henry Daly says in one of his Reports, "can hardly be detrimental to health."

† I know a wealthy Thakur, of high consideration, and the President of the Regency in an important Native State, who receives an allowance of Rs. 25 a month for opium, while in attendance upon the person of his young Chief.

a preparation of opium for smoking. Small particles of opium are roasted, partially dissolved in water, boiled and inspissated. Pills of this are burnt in a peculiarly constructed pipe, and the smoke is inhaled and swallowed. Sometimes the burnt leaves of the areca palm and *babul* are mixed with the inspissated drug ; the mixture is shaped into pills and smoked in a *chilam*. This is called *madak*. A preparation of raw opium, called *sadak*, is smoked in a *hugqa*. To prepare *kussumbha*, opium is pounded in a mortar, mixed with water, and strained through a woollen cloth into a cup. It is then generally drunk from the palm of the hand.

“ *Sattas*,”* or time-bargains in opium, are largely engaged in at Indore. These are contracts for the sale and purchase, on certain future dates, of specified quantities of the drug, and they are eventually adjusted either by actual delivery of the produce or by payment of the difference between the contract rate and that of the day of settlement. Time-bargains for the price per chest (140 lbs.) are made for the “ *Púnims*” or full-moons of Vaishakh and Kartik (May and November), and for the price per *dharri* (10 lbs.), for the full-moon of Margashirsh (December) ; the quantities sold being expressed in bojas of 24 *dharris*, or 240 lbs. Many of these time-bargains are made for nearly a twelve-month in advance, as those for any of the dates named have no sooner been liquidated than fresh ones are entered upon for the same period in the following year. There

* This account of the different modes and phases of opium speculation in Malwa has been very kindly supplied to me by Mr. Andrew Murray of the Bank of Bombay.

is an office in the Maharaja Holkar's Customs Department for the registration of these contracts, a fee of ten annas being charged upon each chest, or *boja* sold, and these fees are believed to yield to the Maharaja an annual revenue varying from Rs. 25,000 to Rs. 35,000. The brokers who negotiate the contracts are bound to report their transactions daily at this registry, and the fee is borne in equal proportions by buyer and seller. Raja Sir Mahadeva Rao Tanjorkar, when Dewan of Indore, wished to withdraw all legal protection from these time-bargains, on the ground that they exercised a pernicious influence upon the trade and the trading morality of the town ; but as support was withheld, where it was most indispensable, he was unable to give effect to his wishes. Sums gained in such transactions are, therefore, still recoverable in the Civil Courts of Indore. These *sattas* are not precisely wagering contracts, inasmuch as a small proportion is always fulfilled by actual delivery of the produce, and all are nominally liable to be so implemented.

The November speculations.

The larger number of transactions are entered into for the full-moon of the month of Kartik (November). These are not confined to merchants of Indore only : commissions to buy or sell being received from Bombay, and from most of the larger bazaars of Central India, Rajputana, and the Central Provinces. There are two kinds of speculators for this date. There are those who buy a few *bojas* to-day and sell them again to-morrow, if a small profit can be snatched, and who have no intention of holding on to the end, or of giving or taking actual delivery. These are the minnows of the market. But the Tritons of the bazaar play a much bolder and more

systematic game. They elect from the beginning to operate for a rise or a fall in prices, and they go on steadily increasing their stake as opportunities offer. Should prices advance or decline uninterruptedly during the whole year, the effect of the course is necessarily only to augment the losses of buyer or seller, but if fluctuations are frequent, or a substantial reaction occurs, the bolder method usually serves the interests of the speculator more effectively than a cautious and "hedging" policy would have done.

The contracts for November frequently accumulate Extent of the
November
contracts. to 6,000 and 7,000 bojas, exclusive of those which have been made and compromised in the course of the year; and as they relate to opium of that year's crop only, and to so much of it as shall have been manufactured before Ashad Shudh 1 (1st July, 1878), this quantity is sometimes more than the entire stock available for delivery. When this desirable result has been attained, the operations of the buyer become much simplified. The process known on the English Stock Exchange as "cornering" now begins. Buyers purchase what they would much rather not receive, while sellers undertake to supply what they do not possess and cannot procure. The former go on increasing their purchases, knowing that specific delivery is no longer possible, and that these fresh purchases will have to be compromised, probably at a rate very advantageous to themselves. It is the buyer's object to avoid accepting delivery, as the opium would have to be re-sold at its trade value, which is usually much below the time-bargain rate. From about a month before the maturity of these contracts compromises begin to be arranged. Losers evince a desire to

cut short their losses, and gainers are nothing loth to realise their profits. Transactions, more or less nominal, are arranged by both buyers and sellers, and registered at extreme rates with the object of influencing the final adjusting figure, which is fixed by the punchayet on the basis of the average of quotations during fifteen days previous to full-moon. Declarations are likewise called for of the quantities of opium which buyers and sellers are respectively prepared to receive and to deliver, and the relative strength of parties, thus ascertained, is likewise an element in enabling the punchayet to arrive at a rate of settlement which shall be acceptable to both sides. Should a seller be dissatisfied with their rate, he may insist on making delivery of the opium : and, in like manner, if a buyer demurs to the decision of the punchayet, he can call for delivery of what he has bought.

When neither demand can be complied with, the settlement becomes a matter of private arrangement, assisted by arbitrators. Disputes are, however, rarely carried to this issue, and seldom more than one-tenth of the outstanding contracts are satisfied by an actual transfer of produce.

The May speculations.

Next in importance to the time-bargains for Kartik come those which are annually entered into for the full-moon of Vaishakh (May). These are expressed in chests (140 lbs.), and at a rate which includes the Government Pass Duty, Holkar's own export duty (Rs. 13-2), and railway carriage to Bombay. Only opium of the previous season, and the manufacture of which has been completed before Bhadrapad Shudh 1 of the previous year (29th August, 1878), is admissible. Similar transactions are entered into in Bombay, and

the rate at which these latter are arranged is usually adopted by the Indore bazaar. These contracts have frequently accumulated to 3,000 and 4,000 chests by April, when private compromises begin ; but there have been years in which as many as 8,000 chests remained to be adjusted when the full-moon had arrived, and in which about 2,500 chests have actually been taken over and paid for. When specific delivery is either proffered or demanded, Rs. 650 for pass duty and Rs. 60 for export duty and carriage to Bombay are deducted from the contract price in order to arrive at its local equivalent, and $13\frac{3}{10}$ *dharris* are weighed over for each chest of opium sold.

Contracts for the full-moon of the Margashirsh December contracts. (December) are always much smaller in number than those for Kartik and Vaishakh, and their settlement is likewise governed by the rate fixed for the adjustment of similar transactions in the native bazaar (Shroffa) of Bombay.

The final settlement of these time-bargains occasionally gives rise to fierce excitement and contention. Settlement of time bargains. Periods of special exhilaration also occur in the progress of each speculation, when transactions multiply rapidly, and fluctuations in price are incessant, amounting to so much as Rs. 50 per chest in one day. On these occasions ordinary business is almost entirely neglected, and buyers of ready opium for shipment to China, finding that prices have been forced much above trade values, are compelled to betake themselves to some of the other markets of Malwa. A period of depression and distrust also usually follows the close of each speculation, especially if the losses and gains have been considerable.

Not merely Mahajans engage in this species of gambling, but clerks, brokers of all grades, hangers-on in the bazaar, salaried officials, Court favorites, and, in fact, any one who can get himself trusted for the possible fall in the price of a single *boja* or chest of opium. The difference between the rate of some of the earlier contracts and that of final adjustment is sometimes as much as Rs. 250 on a single chest of the local value of about Rs. 1,065, and the losses and gains for *Vaishakh* or *Kartik* not unfrequently amount to five lakhs of rupees, and have been known to exceed eight lakhs. More than the former sum has been known to be lost by one firm, and wealthy shroffs have been permanently crippled, or have had the whole of their capital swept away by one unlucky venture on the future of opium. It is the exception when a settlement is not attended by the failure of one or two minor firms who have gone beyond their depth, and by the flight of several defaulters—men of the “*welcher*” class, who would promptly demand payment of all gains, but are quite unprovided against the contingency of a loss.

Speculation encouraged.

Peculiar facilities are presented in Indore for entering upon these speculations on the largest scale, as advances can always be negotiated with *Maharaja Holkar's* treasury at a moderate rate of interest, and for any length of time, on the security of opium, if the borrower can afford to leave with the treasury a margin of about Rs. 100 per chest as insurance against a possible decline in the market-price.

Scientific description.

Opium is scientifically described as an inspissated juice obtained by incision from the unripe capsules

of the *Papaver* somniferum*, Linn. The following Analysis. analysis is taken from Neligan's *Medicines*, 1864. Morphia; codeia; narcotina; thebaina, or paramorphia; narcine; metconin; porphyroxin or opine; meconic acid; sulphuric acid; gum; albumen; resin; fixed oil; a trace of volatile oil (its odorous principle); lignine; caoutchouc; extractive matter; and numerous salts of inorganic bases. The first eight of these are peculiar principles found only in opium. They may be conveniently classed as follows, with respect both to their chemical and physiological properties. It is necessary to state, however, that a great diversity of opinion exists among chemists as to the nature, composition, number, and peculiar principles of opium :—

	Substances.	Properties.
Alkaloids.	Morphia $(C_{31} H_{19} N O_6)$	Narcotic.
	Codeia $(C_{36} H_{21} O_6 N)$	Narcotic.
	Narcotine $(C_{46} H_{25} O_{11} N)$	Bitter, resembling quina.
	Thebaine $(C_{38} H_2 O_6 N)$	Stimulant, resembling [strychnia.

* The *Papaver somniferum* belongs to the natural family of *papaveraceae*, and to the Linnaean class and order of *polyandria monogynia*. Its botanical character is thus stated: Annual; stem, erect, cylindrical, branched, glaucous-green, 2-6 feet high; leaves amplexicaul, alternate, undulated, incised, ovato-oblong, glaucous beneath; flowers large, terminal, pendulous before expansion, with two deciduous sepals, and four petals, generally white with a purple eye, some varieties red, or dark purple; capsules obovate or globose, smooth, many-seeded; seeds small roundish, or reniform, oily.

	Substances	Properties.
Neutrals	Narcine (C ₄₆ H ₂₉ O ₁₈ N)	Inert.
	Meconin (C ₁₀ H ₅ O ₄)	— Inert.
	Porphyroxin (C ₆₆ H ₃₆ O ₂₃ N)	Inert.
*	Meconic acid (C ₁₄ H ₁₀ O ₁₁)	Inert.

Character of ingredients.

The constituents of opium are partially soluble in water, either warm or cold, about a third being left undissolved, which consists chiefly of a dark viscid substance resembling caoutchouc and narcotine ; they are more soluble in alcohol and ether, but a small portion is still left undissolved. The watery infusion is of a dark-brown colour, and has an acid reaction. It is precipitated by the alkalies and alkaline earths when not added in excess ; by the soluble salts of iron and of lead ; by the salts of lime and magnesia ; by tincture of galls ; and by all astringent vegetable matters. Of the different substances above enumerated as existing in opium, the only one of importance in relation to medicine is morphia. It exists in opium combined with meconic and sulphuric acids, in the proportion of from 2 to 8 per cent. according

Morphia.

* Note.—The following analysis will be found in the fourth edition of Percira's Elements of Materia Medica:—

Alkaloids.	Meconic acid	3	H	O ₁	C ₁₄	H	O ₁₁	from 4 to	8	per cent.
	Morphia		C ₁₁	H	N	O ₆	from 4 to	12		
	Codine	C ₃₁	H	N	O ₆	less than	1			
	Thebaine	C ₃₆	H ₂₁	N	O ₆	"	"			
	Papaverine	C ₄₀	H ₂₁	N	O ₈	"	"			
	Narcotine	C ₄₆	H ₂	N	O ₁₄	from 6 to	10			
	Narcotine	C ₄₆	H ₂	N	O ₁₃	from 6 to	13			
	Meconin	C ₂₀	H ₁₁		O ₈	less than	1			
	Resinous matter	...	...	...	...	from 2 to	6	
	Caoutchouc	...	...	...	...	from 4 to	6	
	Mucilage, gum, and extractive matters					from 40 to 50				

to the quality of the drug. Codeia has been used in France where it is much preferred by Magendie and others as a narcotic ; it is stated to be about half the strength of morphia. Narcotine was at one time believed to be the stimulating principle of opium ; but more recent investigations, especially those of Sir W. O'Shaughnessy of Calcutta, have shown that it is completely devoid of any stimulant or narcotic properties, and that, like quina, it is capable of arresting the paroxysms of remittent and intermittent fevers. More than 160 cases of ague, successfully treated with narcotine by himself and others, have been recorded by this authority. Thebaina, from Magendie's experiments, appears to be a powerful poison, one grain injected into the jugular vein, or placed in the pleura, acts like strychnia, causing tetanus and death in a very short time. Meconic acid produces a deep cherry-red, a characteristic of opium of much importance in medical jurisprudence.

Dr. N. Chevers, in his great work on Medical Jurisprudence, refers to the rich purple colour obtained in a modification of Stas' process for the detection of opium poisoning (p. 234). He adds, however, that it is not yielded by Turkish opium, "a circumstance much to be regretted, as the test is a very delicate one enabling us to detect the presence of such a minute quantity as one-fiftieth of a grain of crude opium."

To test* the purity of opium. Take of opium one Test hundred grains ; slaked lime, one hundred grains ; distilled water, four ounces. Break down the opium and steep it in an ounce of the water for twenty-four hours, stirring the mixture frequently. Transfer it

* Neligan, p. 375.

to a displacement apparatus, and pour on the remainder of the water in successive portions, so as to exhaust the opium by percolation. To the infusion thus obtained placed in a flask, add the lime, boil for ten minutes, place the undissolved matter on a filter, and wash it with an ounce of boiling water. Acidulate the filtered fluids slightly with dilute hydrochloric acid, evaporate it to the bulk of half an ounce, and let cool. Neutralize cautiously with solution of ammonia, carefully avoiding an excess ; remove by filtration the brown matter which separates, wash it with an ounce of hot water, mix the washings with the filtrate, concentrate the whole to the bulk of half an ounce, and add now solution of ammonia in slight excess. After twenty-four hours collect the precipitated morphia on a weighed filter, wash it with cold water, and dry it at 212° . It ought to weigh, at least, from six to eight grains.

Simple test
used in
Malwa.

The following simple process for testing opium is used in Malwa :—

Boil some water in a water-pot of moderate size. Put three sheets of blotting paper one over the other in layers on a stool, and place a cup over them for the sake of pressure. Pour the hot water over the paper and drench it thoroughly.

Cut a slice of opium $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs in weight from within an opium ball. Put it in a pan and pour about half a pound of hot water over it, and mix it completely. Place the mixture over a burning fire, and boil it. After it has attained considerable ebullition, bring the pan down and set it to cool for about half a minute in order that the scum and refuse of the drug may subside to the bottom.

Pour the mixture over the filtering paper so that it may trickle into the cup held below.

The pan must then be examined to see whether there is not any alkaline matter sticking to the bottom of the vessel, which is generally the case if the opium is not good. If the mixture filters within three minutes without leaving any sensible portion behind in the paper, the drug is believed to be pure. If, on the other hand, it takes more than three minutes during the process, it is to be deemed impure.

After the above process has been duly performed re-boil the mixture until it attain a considerable consistency, and then set it by to cool in a small cup for a certain number of hours. After the mixture has become somewhat dry on the surface it should be examined to see whether it is elastic enough to rise in threads, when drawn out by a small stick, like warm sealing-wax, and again to trickle back freely. If such be the case, the opium is said to have passed the test. If, on the other hand, it does not rise in threads when drawn out, the drug must be considered as adulterated.

Another test, though not so reliable as the first, for Boiling test. proving the purity of opium, is to discover whether the drug does not lose more than 30 or 40 per cent. of its weight during the whole process of boiling and re-boiling.

NOTE.—It appears from the Consular Reports that the habit of opium-smoking is on the increase in Chiuá. It is estimated that the consumers constitute about a third of the population. The drug is eaten as well as smoked. The British Consul at Newchwang says, that he has been in the company of a Manchu sportsman who took nothing during the day but a pill or two of his own home-grown opium. Mr. Medhurst, Consul at Shanghai, states that along the coast as far north as the Yangtse, Bengal opium is almost exclusively made use of, and the general taste is for

Patna opium ; but in some parts Benares opium is the favourite. West and north of this line is a belt in which Malwa opium is consumed, and west and north of this belt native opium is mainly used, the foreign drug being considered a luxury, and only purchased by the opulent or by *connaisseurs*. The Chinese consider that Bengal opium, which is prepared with greater care, has strong narcotic properties, but is free from many objections attaching to other sorts, and no native opium is at present grown in districts consuming the Bengal drug, the inferiority of the native being too great to admit of its cultivation. Malwa opium is of stronger flavour ; is more pungent, stimulating, and fiery ; and is said to be irritating to the nervous system, and to have a tendency to induce an unhealthy condition of the skin. As we approach the outer limits of the Malwa-consuming districts, we find the cultivation of the native drug increasing from year to year ; but it is said to be coarser and more fiery than the Indian, its flavour is inferior, and it produces troublesome eruptions of the skin, and is constantly adulterated with sea-weed, oil, &c. Bengal opium is mainly in favour in the more relaxing districts of the south ; in the colder north inhabited by a ruder and more robust race, the more pungent Malwa is the favourite. Much of the Indian opium which finds its way into the north of China is made use of to strengthen and correct the flavour of the native drug, and enable it to compete successfully with the former in a state of purity. The supply of native opium has not up to this time kept pace with the demand, and the extension of the cultivation of the drug has been stimulated by the high prices offered. Mr. Medhurst considers that if the import of Indian opium is to continue, there must be a reduction in its cost to enable it to compete on more equal terms with its Chinese rival. Any serious decrease in the supply of Bengal opium would probably have the effect of introducing the cultivation of Chinese opium into the coast provinces, where hitherto the growth of the poppy has been confined within the narrowest limits. There is among influential Chinese a strong party who, acknowledging that opium is deleterious, admit that experience has proved it necessary, and urge the Government to make a source of revenue out of what it is unable entirely to restrain ; and there is another party opposed to all imports, and who would raise the taxes, and throw such obstacles in the way of internal carriage of the foreign drug that the import of it may become unprofitable, the growth of the native product be encouraged, and the wealth retained at home which now goes to enrich the foreigner.

TABLE

*Exhibiting the Number of Chests exported, and the Amount of
Duty realised, in successive years from 1834.*

Year.	Indore, Chests.	Ratlam, Chests.	Dhar, Chests.	Ujjain, Chests.	Udaipur, Chests.	Jaora, Chests.	Palli, Chests.	Mandes- sor, Chests.
<i>Opium Year.</i> (1st Oct. to 30th Sept.)								
1834-35
1835-36
1836-37
1837-38
1838-39
1839-40
1840-41
1841-42
1842-43
1843-44
1844-45
1845-46	...	6,511	3,311	...	...	...	2,783	...
1846-47	...	8,975	4,232	...	...	...	1,851	...
<i>Official Year.</i> (1st Apr. to 31st Mar.)								
1847-48	...	7,867	1,605	...	...	...	602	...
1848-49	...	11,381	5,126	...	...	...	5,591	...
1849-50	...	11,148	5,983	...	...	...	361	...
1850-51	...	12,767	4,720	...	...	...	...	...
1851-52	...	19,361	7,686	...	...	...	...	...
1852-53	...	18,932	7,389	...	...	...	...	40
1853-54	...	18,684	4,511	396	...	...	...	401
1854-55	...	20,185	6,888	1,103	...	...	...	131
1855-56	...	19,346	3,943	1,461	...	...	...	223
1856-57	...	21,244	4,368	1,310	...	...	...	464 $\frac{1}{2}$
1857-58	...	30,030	6,039	527	...	...	...	1,579
1858-59	...	20,513	12,252	21	...	...	...	1,554
1859-60	...	15,964	8,239	3,474	...	...	...	1,635
1860-61	...	24,773	7,175	8,701	...	...	...	1,702
1861-62	...	21,252	5,811	6,199	...	...	...	718
1862-63	...	27,056	7,028	13,554	...	...	...	843
1863-64	...	13,993	2,825	5,017	...	...	...	392
1864-65	...	21,473	5,577	7,275	...	...	...	406
1865-66	...	19,318	5,205	7,612	...	...	...	282
1866-67	...	22,258	4,703	4,623	...	...	...	411
1867-68	...	23,658	5,591	6,584	...	...	...	268
1868-69	...	22,141	3,640	3,898	...	...	...	108
1869-70	...	20,288	4,611	1,578	8,907	444	...	...
1870-71	...	15,915	3,707	855	12,643	4,488	...	...
1871-72	...	17,076	2,422	1,768	11,415	4,881	...	29
1872-73	...	18,367	4,020	1,643	13,784	4,874	...	...
1873-74	...	18,696	2,011	1,808	11,488	8,109	...	...
1874-75	...	19,320	2,573	3,141	17,200	5,748	...	...
1875-76	...	13,524	1,568	2,595	11,218	9,848	...	...
1876-77	...	21,105	1,627	3,282	15,509	6,495	...	...
1877-78	...	16,243	2,565	1,152	12,337	9,320	...	...

Total Number of Chests.	Total amount of Pass Duty levied.	Amount of Duty per Chest.	REMARKS.
	Rs.	Rs.	
714	1,24,950	175	
9,621	12,02,625	125	
18,895	23,61,875	125	
11,205	14,00,625	125	
18,999	23,74,875	125	
2,140	2,67,500	125	
16,953	21,19,125	125	
14,681	18,35,125	125	
24,225	30,28,125	125	
13,563	27,12,600	200	
29,741	59,48,200	200	
12,635	37,90,500	300*	* From 1st October, 1845, date of Proclamation, 13th August, 1815.
15,058	45,17,400	300	
10,074	36,07,300	300 & 400†	† From 1st June, 1847, up to 30th June, 1859, date of Proclamation.
22,098	88,39,200	400	
17,492	69,96,800	400	From 1st December, 1846.
17,487	69,94,800	400	From 26th December, 1849.
27,050	1,08,20,000	400	From 23rd October, 1850.
26,361	1,05,44,400	400	From 20th November, 1851.
24,892	99,56,800	400	From 3rd October, 1853.
28,310	1,18,24,000	400	
24,981	99,92,400	400	
27,416‡	1,09,78,600	400	
42,421	1,69,68,100	400	
34,310	1,07,36,000	400	
29,312	1,37,43,000	400 & 500‡	‡ From 1st July, 1859, date of Proclamation, 2nd March, 1859.
42,351	2,28,97,100	500 & 600§	§ From 1st October, 1860, date of Proclamation, 7th June, 1860.
33,980	2,14,37,300	600 & 700||	|| From 1st October, 1861, date of Proclamation, 2nd April, 1861.
48,481	3,06,54,300	700 & 600¶	¶ From 1st October, 1862, date of Proclamation, 1st March, 1862.
22,227	1,33,36,200	600	
34,731	2,08,38,600	600	
32,447	1,94,68,200	600	
31,905	1,91,97,000	600	
36,101	2,16,60,600	600	
29,787	1,78,72,200	600	
35,828	2,14,96,800	600	
37,608	2,25,64,800	600	
37,591	2,25,54,600	600	
42,688	2,56,12,800	600	
42,112	2,52,67,200	600	
47,982	2,87,89,200	600	
38,753	2,82,51,800	600	
48,018	2,88,10,800	600	
41,617	2,60,51,350	600 & 650**	** From 16th July, 1877, date of Proclamation, 27th April, 1877.

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GROUP OF THAGS, AND DACOITS

THAGGI AND DAKAITI.



The term *thag** is derived from a Hindi word meaning to *deceive*. It is applied to members of the predatory associations that once infested the roads and rivers of India, committing countless murders by strangulation in the name of Kali,† the wife and the *Sakti*, or personified energy of Siva,‡ the destroyer.

The Penal Code has the following definition :— Legal definition.
“ Whoever, at any time after the passing of this Act, shall have been habitually associated with any other, or others, for the purpose of committing robbery

* The term *phansigar*, or strangler, is also used in Hindustan. In the Peninsula the following designations are employed :—Tamil, *ari tulukar*; Canarese, *tanti kalleru*; in Telugu, *rarla rundla*.

† Younger sister of Ganga, and daughter of Himavat, lord of mountains. This goddess is known under many appellations—Uma, Durga, Parbati, Devi, Bhairavi, Bhawani, and Gauri. The black goddess Kali must not be confounded with the Vedic Kali of the Mahabharat, personification of the *kali yug*.

‡ The word *Sira* means *auspicious*, and being first applied euphemistically to the god of tempests (Rudra), afterwards passed into the name of the god of destruction.—*Indian Wisdom*, p. 325. “ He is represented as living in the Himalaya Mountains with his wife Parbati, sometimes in the act of trampling on and destroying demons, wearing round his black neck a serpent and necklace of skulls, and furnished with an entire apparatus of external emblems, a white bull, a crescent, a trident, tiger’s skin, elephant’s skull, rattle and noose.”—*Indian Wisdom*.

For an account of the birth, beauty, and marriage of Uma, see Kali-dasa’s *Kumara Sambhava*.

Although the destroyer and world-dissolver, his worship is generally conducted before the generative *linga*, the *phallos* (the *phallos*, however, was always made of wood, while the *linga* is of stone) surrounded by the *yoni*, or female symbol. “ Death leads to a new life, and reproduction is ever associated with destruction.”

or child-stealing, by means of, or accompanied with, murder, is a thag."

Thaggi in
Central
India.

Central India was in former days a favourite field of action for these miscreants ; and at the present time Indore is a centre of operations for the department established by Lord W. Bentinck, in 1829, for the suppression of thaggi.

History of
Thaggi.

Sir William Sleeman believed that the practice of thaggi was introduced into India by some wild Mahomedan tribe, of Scythian or Persian origin. One of the first notices of it appears in the Travels of Thievenot, published in the year 1687 :

Thievenot's
account.

" Though the road I have been speaking of from Agra to Delhi be tolerable, yet hath it many inconveniences. One may meet with tigers, panthers, and lions upon it ; and one had best also have a care of robbers, and above all things not to suffer anybody to come near one upon the road. The cunningest robbers in the world are in that country. They use a certain rope with a running noose, which they can cast with so much sleight about a man's neck, when they are within reach of him, that they never fail, so that they strangle him in a trice. They have also another cunning trick to catch travellers with : they send out a handsome woman upon the road, who with her hair dishevelled seems to be all in tears, sighing and complaining of some misfortunes which she pretends has befallen her. Now, as she takes the same way that the traveller goes, he easily falls into conversation with her, and finding her beautiful, offers her his assistance, which she accepts ; but he hath no sooner taken her up behind him on horseback, but

“ she throws the snare about his neck and strangles
 “ him, or at least stuns him, until the robbers, who
 “ lie hid, come running in to her assistance and com-
 “ plete what she hath begun. But, besides that, there
 “ are men in those quarters so skilful in casting the
 “ snare that they succeed as well at a distance as
 “ near at hand ; and if an ox or any other beast
 “ belonging to a caravan run away, they fail not
 “ to catch it by the neck.”*

Herodotus,† in his Polymnia, mentions as a part of the army with which Xerxes invaded Greece a body of horse from among the Sagartii, a pastoral people of Persian descent, and who spoke the Persian language. Their only offensive weapons were a dagger and a cord made of twisted leather with a noose at one end. With this cord they entangled their enemies, and then easily put them to death. Ptolemy speaks of this tribe as inhabiting Media. Rennel thinks they might be identified with the Zagatai Tartars, and, after mentioning their use of nooses and daggers, adds :—“ Could we trace out such a modern custom in Asia, it might lead to a discovery of the descendants of the Sagartii.” Now all thags, whether Hindu or Mahomedan, throughout India, believe that seven clans of Mahomedan stranglers,—the Bhais, the Barsote, the Kachani, the Hartal, the Ganu, and Tandel,—are the original stems from which all other gangs of thags have branched forth ; and it seems not impossible that

* Arjan is represented in the Mahabharat as being an adept in the use of the lasso. “ Lastly he armed himself with the noose and threw it about with such skill that horse or deer, or any other animal at which he cast it, was invariably brought down.”—Wheeler’s *History of India*, p. 88.

† Thievenot’s *Travels*, Part III., p. 41.

these vagrant tribes represent a people who in ancient days used the noose and lasso in Persia, or Central Asia. Strangulation seems to have been common among the Scythians. We read, that when they buried a king they strangled one of his concubines. But the noose is an ancient emblem of Siva, and whatever may have been the origin of the thag bands recently suppressed, the superstitious and religious rites everywhere observed are purely Hindu in their origin ; though observed with equally scrupulous attention by all Mahomedan* stranglers. " No thag in any part of India," writes Sir William Sleeman,

The sanction of religion. " doubts the divine origin of the system of thaggi : " no one doubts but that he and all the fraternity " who have followed the trade of murder with the pres- " cribed observances, were acting under the immediate " orders and auspices of the goddess Kali. He medi- " tates his murders without any misgivings ; he " perpetrates them without any feeling of remorse. " They trouble not his dreams, nor does their recol- " lection ever cause him inquietude in darkness, in " solitude, or in the hour of death."

Traditional origin of Thags.

Rakatbijdana was a demon of colossal size and power, who, at the beginning of the world, devoured men so fast that the race threatened to become extinct. Kali Devi accordingly determined to put him to death. This, however, was no easy matter. So tall was he that the profoundest ocean only immersed him to the waist ; and when the goddess attacked and wounded him, every drop of his blood became another demon, and when she attacked these, their blood too gave im-

* Mahomedan thags are said to identify Kali with Fatima, daughter of the Prophet and wife of Ali.

mediate birth to other demons.* So, weary with the task, she wiped the sweat from her arm, formed of it two men, and giving to each a handkerchief told them to put all these demons to death without allowing one drop of their blood to fall to the ground. These men,† after super-human efforts, accomplished the work, and offered to return the handkerchiefs ; but she permitted them to keep them as the instruments of a trade by which their posterity should earn their bread, and instructed them to leave the bodies of their victims on the ground, promising that she would dispose of them, provided they never looked to see what became of them. These creations from the sweat of Kali's arm are not, however, supposed to have used the handkerchief, or *gopatban*, thus bestowed upon them, but to have bequeathed it, with all concomitant privileges, to their posterity, who, after several generations, began to employ it.

Kali in these early days fulfilled her promise and The *kasi*. duly removed the bodies of those who were strangled ; until, in an evil moment, a slave looked back, and saw the awful form of the naked goddess, with dishevelled hair and flaming eyes, throwing the corpses‡ into the air. Henceforth Kali, in wrath, withdrew her aid, and bid them bury the dead themselves ; giving, according to one tradition, one of her own teeth to be used as a pick-axe for the digging of graves. What be-

* Other Hindus believe that as the drops of blood fell to the ground she licked them up with her extensile tongue.

† The demon was killed at Vindhya-chal, on the eastern extremity of the Vindhyan Range ; and Kali carried him to Calcutta, and buried him where her great temple now stands.

‡ This was only preparatory to the obscene feast.—“ If there were no sacrifices, the gods would starve to death.”—*Indian Wisdom*, p. 428.

came of this original implement does not appear ; but the *kasi*, or specially-employed pick-axe, has always been held by the thags as peculiarly important and sacred. When one has to be made, the priest of the gang is required to ascertain a lucky day. The *jemadar*, or leader of the gang, then goes to the blacksmith, and having closed the door, gets him to make the pick-axe in his presence, without touching any other work till it is completed. On a day subsequently appointed, a Friday, Monday, Tuesday, or Wednesday, they give it the *dhup*, or incense offering. This must be done either in a house, or a tent, and the shadow of no living thing may contaminate the implement. The thag most versed in the ceremonial sits down with his face to the west and receives the pick-axe on a brass dish. A pit is then dug in the ground, and the pick-axe is washed with water that falls into the pit. It is afterwards washed with a mixture of sugar and water, then with curds, and finally with ardent spirits ; the lotion in every case falling into the pit. Seven spots of red lead are now daubed on it, when it is again placed on the brass

The oblation. dish, containing an entire cocoanut, some cloves, pan leaves, gogal gum,* indarjau, sesamum seeds, sandal wood, and sugar. A fire is now kindled of some dried cow-dung, mango, and banyan wood ; and the above-named articles are thrown in with the exception of the cocoanut. When the flame rises they pass the pick-axe seven times through it, the officiating thag holding it in both hands. He then strips off the outer bark of the cocoanut, and holding the pick-axe

The consecration of the
kasi.

by the point in his right hand, says :—" Shall I strike ?" All reply, " yes." Then calling out—" All Invocation. hail mighty Devi, great mother of all !"—he breaks the cocoanut to pieces with the butt-end of the pick-axe, on which all present exclaim—" All hail Devi, and prosper the thags." (Should the cocoanut not break at a single blow, then the whole ceremony is invalid.) The shell and some of the kernel is then thrown into the fire, the pick-axe is tied up in a clean piece of white cloth, and is placed on the ground to the west, when all facing in that direction worship it. After this, all partake of the kernel of the cocoanut ; the fragments of the articles used are swept into the pit, which is then closed up, and the ceremony is at an end. But if, afterwards, the omens seen or heard on the right hand, and termed *thibau*, are not observed ; or if the left-hand omens called *pilhau* are found to succeed, the consecration is unavailing and has to be repeated. Henceforward the pick-axe, which before consecration was merely called a *kodali*, now becomes a *kasi*, or *mahi*. It is given to the shrewdest, cleanest, most sober and most careful man in the gang, who carries it in his waist-belt, while travelling, and when halting, buries it in a safe place with its point in the direction in which the party intends to proceed. No foot must touch the earth under which it lies buried, nor may any man in a state of ceremonial impurity, or any unclean animal, touch it at any time. After every grave dug with it, a new ritual of consecration must be performed ; and when the gang has been long without a victim, the burnt-offering must, on certain appointed days, be repeated. An oath administered on the

kasi is more sacred to a thag than that on the Ganges water, or Quran.

Office-bearers.

Besides the honorable office of bearing the *kasi* there are the distinctions of being appointed to choose the *bel*, or place of strangulation and burial ; and of being set apart to carry the large quantities of molasses required for the *taponi* sacrifice offered after each murder. These functions can only be entrusted to

The strangler, or *bhartotî*.

thags of tried sagacity and prudence. The office of strangler is called *bhartotî*, and is never attained by any one who has not taken part in many expeditions and acquired the requisite courage and insensibility by slow degrees. The novice begins as a scout ; is afterwards employed as a grave-digger ; and then as a *shamsia*, or holder of hands. If, after passing through these grades, he feels himself sufficiently hardened for the more responsible and terrible office of strangler, he solicits the oldest and most renowned member of the gang to become his *guru*, or spiritual preceptor ; and when the gang falls in with a respectable but weak victim, the disciple expresses his willingness to try his hand upon him. While the unsuspecting traveller is asleep amid the party of thags at their halting-place, the *guru* takes his *chela*, or disciple, into a neighbouring field, followed by three or four old members of the fraternity, and reaching a suitable spot they all face in the direction in which they intend to proceed on the following day, and the *guru* says :—“ O Kali,* man-eater, demon-

The initiation.

* Kali is said to have first appeared upon the earth at Calcutta ; and here, at her great shrine, the most acceptable oblations are still offered. Nowhere else in India is the Durga-puja celebrated with such high solemnities. It occurs in the month of Assin, or the beginning of October ;

“eater! O Kali, great Kali, Kali, whose shrine is at Calcutta! If it seemeth fit to thee that the traveller now among us should die by the hand of this thy slave, vouchsafe us the *thibau*? ” Should the *thibau*, or right-hand auspice be denied for the space of about half an hour, or the *pilhau*, or left-hand auspice be observed, some other *thag* must put the traveller to death, and the candidate for promotion await a more auspicious season. But should the *thibau* be granted, they return to their quarters, and the *guru* taking a handkerchief and turning to the west ties a knot with a piece of silver money inserted in it. This knot is called the “traditional knot,” and no man may tie it who has not thus been ordained by a *guru*. The disciple receives it respectfully, and stands over the victim with a *shamsia*, or holder of hands, beside him. The traveller is aroused on some pretext or other, the leader of the gang gives the customary signal (the *jhirni*; often *huqqa bhar lao*, or *huqqa pilo*; or *ae ho ghairi chalo*), the disciple slips the noose over the victim, and with the help of the *shamsia* strangles him. Having finished his work the disciple

The initiatory deed.

and occasions a suspension of all business for a whole fortnight. Durga, says Monier Williams, has become the most important personage in the whole Hindu Pantheon to the great majority of worshippers, whose religion is actuated by superstitious fears. (The god Siva himself is sometimes represented as a blending of the male and female principles, and is then regarded as the source of reproduction, vigour, and successful enterprise.) The worshippers of Durga are divided into two classes,—the *Dakshinacharias*, or right-hand worshippers, and the *Vanacharias*, or left-hand worshippers. The former worship the goddess openly without impure practices; the latter worship, in secret, a naked woman representing her. The worship is said to require the use of some one of the five *nakaras*, or words beginning with m, viz.: 1 *madya*, wine; 2 *mansa*, flesh; 3 *mateya*, fish; 4 *mudra*, mystical gestures; 5 *maithuna*, sexual intercourse.

bows down before his preceptor, touches his feet with both hands, and then performs a similar obeisance to all his relatives and friends present in gratitude for the honor he has attained. He opens the knot after he has heard or seen the *thibau*, or omen on the right ; takes out the piece of silver and gives it, with all the other silver he has, to his *guru* as a *nazar* ; who, adding what money he has at the time, purchases one rupee and four annas' worth of molasses for the *taponi*, offering to Kali, and lays out the rest in sweetmeats. The *taponi* is now celebrated under a nim, mango, or banyan tree ; and if these are not to be found on the spot, under any tree except a babul or sirsa. The newly initiated *thag* now takes his seat among the *bhartotes* around the carpet, and receives his share of the consecrated molasses and sweetmeats. At the close of the expedition an interchange of hospitalities takes place between the disciple and the preceptor, and their relationship is ever after looked upon as intimate and sacred.

The taponi. The sacrifice of molasses, or *gur*, known as the *taponi*, mentioned above, merits a brief description. The value of the *gur* offered is always one rupee four annas. It is put upon a blanket, or sheet, spread upon the cleanest place that can be found. Near the pile of sugar, and on the blanket, the consecrated pick-axe is placed with a piece of silver. The *thag*, who is supposed to be most in favor with the goddess and best acquainted with the modes of propitiating her, is seated on the blanket with his face to the west. As many stranglers as the blanket can accommodate sit on either side with their faces in the same direction. They must, with the officiating

priest, form an even number. The priest now makes a hole in the ground, and having put a little of the molasses into it, he lifts his eyes and his clasped hands towards heaven, and with his mind fixed upon the goddess, says :—“ Great goddess, as you vouch- The prayer. safed one lakh and sixty-two thousand rupees to Jhora, Naik,* and Kodak Banwari in their need, so we pray thee, fulfil our desires ?” In this prayer all fervently join, repeating the words after the priest. The latter now sprinkles some water over the pit and pick-axe, and places a little molasses upon the extended hand of every thag seated upon the blanket. One of the gang now gives the *jhirni*, or signal for strangling, precisely as if a murder were about to be committed, when all fall to their molasses in solemn silence, licking it up with devotional earnestness. No one who has not strangled with his own hand can take part in this sacred feast : for the uninitiated unconsecrated sugar is set aside and is eaten beyond the blanket. Should anything improper or indecorous in language occur during these proceedings, it is considered a sign of Kali’s displeasure, and so inauspicious, that no hope can be entertained of further success in the expedition entered upon.

Jitna, or *jitai purjana*, is a phrase employed by the *Jitna*, taking the auspices. thags, which means *to take the auspices*. This is always done before setting out on an expedition. A

* Jhora, Naik, was a celebrated leader of the Multan Thags of the Hartal clan. Kodak Banwari was his servant. These two are said to have murdered a man who had about him, in jewels and money, property to the value of Rs. 1,62,000 laden upon a mule. They brought it all home, assembled all the members of their fraternity, and divided it as if all had been present when it was obtained. Jhora, Naik, his wife, and his servant were all canonized in consequence.

guru, versed in all the lore of Kali, Kankali,* is selected, and with the leader of the gang and four thags is seated on a blanket. The rest of the gang sit around, outside. Some rice, wheat, and two copper coins are respectfully presented to the *guru* on a brass-plate, and he is asked by the leader to appoint a day for the setting out of the expedition. After a suitable pause for contemplation, the day, the hour, **The auspices.** and the direction to be pursued are named. On the day appointed a *lota* is filled with water, and the leader holds it in his right hand. A clean piece of white cloth is then taken, and the following articles are tied up in it in five knots and held by the leader in his left hand pressed against his breast,—turmeric, two copper coins, one silver coin, and the consecrated pick-axe. The leader now turns in the direction indicated by the priest, and moves on slowly, followed by his gang, to a field or garden outside the village. On reaching a suitable spot, he raises his eyes to heaven, and abstracting his mind from all worldly matters, lifts up his voice and prays :—“ O great goddess ! universal† mother ! If this our meditated expedition be pleasing in thine eyes, vouchsafe us thy potent aid, we beseech thee, and the signs of thy approbation.” All present repeat the prayer, and join in the praises of Kali. If within half an hour they hear or see the *pilhau*, or left-hand auspice, it signifies that the

* The man-devouring.

† The Genetrix Alma Venus of the Thugs.—*Lucretius.*

Great authors of the world, almighty pair,

Listen, O listen to your servant's prayer.

Ye who are knit by love's eternal tie,

Close as the links that word and sense ally.

Hear mighty Siva, gracious Uma hear.—*Raghuvansa.*

deity has taken them by the left hand to lead them on ; if the *thibau*, or right-hand auspice, should follow, it signifies that the deity has taken them by the right hand also. The pieces of money and the turmeric are carefully kept throughout the expedition and given to some poor Brahman on the return home.

The auspices having been vouchsafed, the captain of the gang sits down and remains for seven hours in the same spot, while his followers bring him food and make all necessary preparations for the journey. When all is ready they advance a few paces in the direction indicated by the *guru*, and then turn to the right, or left, as may appear most expedient. On arriving at the first stage, they must hear or see the *thibau* first, and then the *pilhau* ; this being granted, they proceed next morning to the nearest water, and there eat the *gur* and the pulse which the leader has with him. Any bad omen occurring after this may be averted by sacrifice and worship, but should it occur before, the expedition must be postponed. For the first seven days of an expedition, if no murder be committed, no member of the gang may dress any food in *ghi*, or eat flesh, or shave, or bathe, or allow his clothes to be washed, or indulge in any sensual gratification. Throughout the whole of this expedition, unless it extends beyond a year, no member of the gang is allowed to drink milk, or clean his teeth with the *miswak*.

To hear lamentation for the dead ; or the croaking of the carrion crow from the back of a pig, buffalo, or from a corpse or skeleton ; the sneezing, * or *crepitus*

* The superstitious observation of sneezing is very ancient. To sneeze between midnight and the following noon tide was deemed fortunate by

ventris of one of the party ; the call of the hare when travellers are with them ; to meet the corpse of any one belonging to their own village, or to meet an oil vendor, a carpenter, a potter, a dancing-master, a blind man, a lame man, a woman with an empty pitcher, a faqir, an anchorite with tangled locks, an ass approaching the gang and braying, a pair of jackals crossing the road in front of the gang either from the right or from the left, wolves crossing from right to left ; to hear the chirruping of the small owl while flying, the call of the partridge at night, the call of the (*saras*) crane on the right hand when setting out on a stage, the whistle of the kite between the first watch and day-break, and certain calls of the jackal* and wolf in the day time,—are all bad omens.

Good omens.

The following portents are accounted favorable :— one jackal crossing the road from right to left ; the whistle of the kite while flying ; a cat prowling about the halting place at night ; wolves crossing the road from right to left ; the croaking of the carrion crow heard from a tree while the gang are halting, especially if water be in sight ; the braying of an ass on the left on setting out ; antelope crossing the road from left to right ; the blue jay flying from left

the Romans ; but between noontide and midnight unfortunate. Roman Catholics attribute to St. Gregory the use of the “God bless you !” after sneezing ; and say that it was enjoined during a pestilence in which sneezing was a mortal symptom, and was accordingly called “the death sneeze.” A similar custom among the Greeks is mentioned by Aristotle ; and Thucydides asserts that sneezing was a critical symptom of the great Athenian plague.—*Brewer's Phrase and Fable*.

* The calls of the jackal and the notes of the various species of owl were carefully classified, having different significations. Owl's hoot in B flat and G flat, or F sharp and A flat.

to right ; meeting a pregnant woman, or meeting a woman with a pitcher full of water.

The first victim should neither be a Brahman nor a Sayyid, nor a very poor man, nor a man with gold about him, nor a man accompanied by any quadruped, nor a washerman, nor a sweeper, nor an oil-vendor, nor a bard, nor a writer, nor a blind person, nor a maimed person, nor a leper, nor a dancing woman, nor a pilgrim, nor a devotee. Kali views with displeasure the proceedings of those who disregard this inhibition ; and even those thags who have turned approvers, and who have helped much to suppress the practices of their fraternity, and who have furnished us with the minute information we possess regarding the entire system, attribute its suppression to a disregard of this and other injunctions of their goddess. Had their prescribed ritual been closely observed, they say, Kali would have continued to extend to them her protection, and no human power could have injured them.

These* superstitions have been dwelt upon in order to show how strongly the members of this extraordinary fraternity were supported and stimulated in every act of their lives by the countenance of a diabolical creed—*Tantum religio potuit suadere malorum.* It is easy to see how formidable a society like this, closely knit together by a peculiar regimen of life, peculiar observances, and a peculiar phraseology, all pointing to the single purpose of murder and plunder, must

* "It is by the command and under the protection of one of the most powerful goddesses that the thags join themselves to the unsuspecting traveller, make friends with him, slip the noose round his neck, plunge their knives in his eyes, hide him in the earth, and divide his money and baggage."—*Macaulay's Speeches, Edn. 1851, p. 274.*

have become to a people disposed to yield to what appeared to be the dispensation of a terrible deity, and rather exposed to dangers than sheltered from them by the imbecility of corrupt and decrepit governments.

The extent of the evil. No combined operations were ever made by the people of India, or their chiefs, to rid the country of this terrible scourge. Every high road and every navigable river, from the Indus to the palm-lined coasts of the Peninsula, was infested with bands of these murderous ruffians. Their dark deeds were told in whispers round every village fire in the land. The boldest travellers, even when moving in large companies, trembled for their lives at every turning of the road, suspected every one they met, suspected one another, lay down to sleep under the mango-trees after their long day's march with fear, and awoke expecting to hear the dread signal given that should hurry them into a sudden and inevitable grave. There seemed to be something irresistible and mysterious about these proceedings that swept away whole families of travellers year by year at well-known spots, wherever the road dipped through a nala, or passed through a patch of jungle. No wayfarer came back to tell how he escaped ; no marks of blood, no broken weapons, no torn clothes remained to tell of a struggle ; it was rarely that even a stifled cry broke the stillness of the early morning and warned the startled traveller of death at hand. It was a maxim with the thags that—"dead men tell no tales ;"—and upon this maxim they always acted. They permitted no living witness of their crimes to escape, and never attempted the murder of any party until they made sure they could murder the whole of

it. They would march for days, even weeks, with a company of unsuspecting travellers, eat with them, sleep with them, worship with them at the shrines on the road, associate with them on the closest terms of intimacy, until they could find a place and opportunity favourable to the murder of the whole. Time and place were chosen with the utmost foresight and circumspection, there was neither undue haste, nor undue delay, and when the dread moment came there was no bungling ; every thag knew his share of the task, and accomplished it with the silence, the unerring precision, and the insensibility of a machine.

In reading the many narratives of expeditions, ^{Uniformity of the proceedings.} taken down from the lips of approvers and corrected by cross-examination, which Sir William Sleeman has put on record, we are struck by the uniformity of the adventure.

The gang is travelling as a party of merchants. ^{The *modus operandi.*} They fall in with a company of genuine traders carrying their wares to some neighbouring market town, or bringing back to their homes money realized. For common safety they propose to travel together. They rest under trees at some old established halting-place. Near by, in the nala, is the *bel*, or place of murder where the thags have often done their terrible work before. The unsuspecting travellers and thags cook and eat their evening meal together, sit under the starlight afterwards, smoking and chatting. The thags propose an early start, before dawn, on the following morning, pleading the length of the next march and the heat of the morning sun. All lie down according to the custom of the country, entirely covered with their white sheets. At midnight the

grave-diggers (*laghai*) rise and steal off to the *bel*, accompanied by scouts to keep watch. They dig a wide and deep grave. Just before dawn the remaining thags wake up and propose an immediate start. All move on together in the dark ; a grey streak of morning is on the eastern horizon ; the lazy cawing of a disturbed crow, the twitter of little birds,* is heard when they reach a dip in the road. There are a few trees, and a little shallow stream runs chattering through a bed of boulders. It is darker here. The thags propose a moment's rest,—a smoke, a drink of water, any excuse. All sit down. A common word or phrase is spoken ; it seems nothing to the travellers ; it passes quite unheard by them ; but it is the signal for the murderers to prepare for their task. Close by is the grave ready dug. All round the scouts are on the watch. "*Huqqa pi-lo*," says the leader. It is the signal for death. A noose is round the neck of each traveller, his hands are held. A few stifled and gurgling cries rise in the still morning air. The nooses are drawn, and all is silence. Clothes and packages are instantly rifled, a dagger is plunged into the body of each victim, on both sides under the armpits, and the corpses are hurried into the open grave and covered up. All traces of the deed are carefully removed ; the top of the grave is strewed with thorns or grass ; and the gang march on to the next halting place.

The deed† is always done in the quietest and quickest manner. No instance of wanton cruelty—

No wanton
cruelty.

* "Ah sad and strange as in dark summer dawns

The earliest pipe of half-awaken'd birds

'To dying ears."

† Sleeman.

that is pain inflicted beyond what was necessary to deprive the person of life—is on record. The murder of women is a violation of their rules to which they attribute much of our success against the system, because it is considered to have given offence to their patroness ; but no thag was ever known to offer insult either in act or speech to the woman he was going to murder. No gang would ever dare to murder a woman with whom one of its members should be suspected of having had criminal intercourse. In most cases, where women have been strangled, it was with a view to removing all evidence of the murder of the men with whom they were travelling.

It is only necessary to consider the habits of the ^{The difficulty of tracking} thags to be convinced of the extreme difficulty of ^{of tracking} thags. discovering and convicting them. The scene of their crimes was always out of their own district, and seldom within thirty miles of their usual place of abode. They were sometimes absent from their homes for several months together, and on their return they dispersed and were absorbed in the urban and rural population. One was a cloth merchant, highly respected for his ^{Different positions in life.} integrity and for his quiet and respectable demeanour. He had been on a journey buying or selling his wares. Another was a well-to-do cultivator. During his absence of two or three months his sons had been tilling the paternal acres. He returned alone. He had been at the marriage of some distant relative. A third was a brahman servant. He was a clean, respectful steady man. His master put the utmost confidence in him ; trusted him with the care of his jewels and money, and had never cause to regret this confidence. The servant was

scrupulously honest, as he was scrupulously attentive to his duties. Every year he got two months' leave to visit his aged father, who lived in a remote village. At the expiry of his leave he duly returned, and took up his work, as if he had never left it. A fourth was a kshattriya. He was in the army of a native chief, probably a daffadar or jemadar, certainly a soldier of good character, and one who performed his duties correctly and punctually, with unobtrusive zeal. His only brother lived in a distant village; and he got leave of absence every year to visit him. His going and his coming excited no remark. These four men were in different walks of life; belonged to different orders of society and different castes; they were never seen to associate; they never visited one another. Who would suppose that they belonged to one gang of thags? Who would suppose that the quiet, thrifty cloth merchant was a noted strangler, unable to count up the murders he had committed through a long course of years? Who would suppose that they were all closely bound together by the rites of a common superstition, by the practices of a common vocation, and by the perils of a common crime?—Another difficulty in the way of suppressing this system of murder and robbery arose from the unwillingness of villagers* and landholders to report crimes known to have been committed on their lands. They mis-doubted the motives and the discernment of those who

Villagers are afraid of reporting deeds of violence.

A gang of thags in the year 1832 took refuge in a village in Sindia's territory. Troops were sent out to seize them: but the head man of the village resolved to protect them, shut the gates and manned the walls. An engagement ensued, and the thags disguised as women got away. Lord William Bentinck's camp was close at hand, within hearing of the guns!

would conduct the investigation. They feared they would have to purchase immunity from suspicion. They knew they would be subjected to examination and cross-examination in the course of which many things might be disclosed about which they would rather be silent.*

“ While I was in the civil charge of the district of ^{Sleeman's} ~~experience~~ Narsingpur in 1822—24,” writes Sir William Sleeman, “ no ordinary robbery or theft could be committed “ without my becoming acquainted with it; nor was “ there a robber or thief, of the ordinary kind, in the “ district with whose character I had not become “ acquainted in the discharge of my duty as Magis- “ trate; and if any man had then told me, that a “ gang of assassins by profession resided in the vil- “ lage of Kandeli, not four hundred yards from my “ Court, and that the extensive groves of the village “ of Mandessôr, only one stage from me, on the road “ to Sagâr and Bhopal, was one of the greatest *bels*, “ or places of murder in all India: and that large “ gangs from Hindustan and the Deckan used to “ rendezvous in these groves, remain in them for “ many days together every year, and carry on their “ dreadful trade along all the lines of road that pass “ by and branch off from them, with the knowledge “ and connivance of the two landholders by whose ^{Connivance} ~~of landhold-~~ ^{ers.} ancestors these groves had been planted, I should “ have thought him a fool or a madman, and yet “ nothing could have been more true. The bodies of a

* Whoever omits to give such information is liable to *simple* imprisonment for six months, or a fine of one thousand rupees. (Sec. 176, Penal Code.) Whoever *intentionally* omits to give such information is liable to *rigorous* imprisonment for six months, or unlimited fine, or both. (Sec. 202, Penal Code.)

“ hundred travellers lie buried in and around the groves
 “ of Mandessôr ; and a gang of assassins lived in and
 “ about the village of Kandeli while I was Magistrate
 “ of the district and extended their depredations to
 “ the cities of Puna and Haidarabad.

A cloth merchant convicted.

“ The first party of men I sent into the Deckan
 “ to aid Captain Reynolds, who had been selected by
 “ Colonel Stewart to superintend the employment of
 “ our means for the suppression of the system in the
 “ Nizam’s dominions, recognised in the person of one
 “ of the most respectable linen-drapers of the canton-
 “ ments of Hingoli, Hari Singh, the adopted son of
 “ Jowahir Sukal, a subadar of thags, who had twenty
 “ years before been executed with twenty-one of his
 “ followers at Agar for the murder of a party of two
 “ women and eight men close to the cantonments.
 “ On hearing that Hari Singh, of the list sent to him
 “ of noted thags at large in the Deckan, was the Hari
 “ Singh of the Saddar bazaar, Captain Reynolds was
 “ quite astounded, for so correct had he been in his
 “ deportment, and all his dealings, that he had won
 “ the esteem of all the gentlemen of the station,
 “ who used to assist him in procuring passports for
 “ his goods on their way from Bombay ; and yet
 “ he had, as he has since himself shown, been carrying
 “ his trade of murder up to the very day of his arrest
 “ with gangs from Hindustan and the Deckan on all
 “ the roads around, and close to the cantonments of
 “ Hingoli ; and leading out his gang of assassins
 “ while he pretended to be on his way to Bombay
 “ for a supply of fresh linens and broad-cloth.”*

* The following is an extract from the deposition of this thag, Hari Singh . . . “ A year and-a-half before I was arrested at Hingoli, in June . . .

Sir William Sleeman, writing in 1836, gives the River thags. following account of the river thags of Bengal :—

“ * They are supposed to be between two and three hundred, and to employ about twenty boats, which pass up and down the Ganges during the months of November, December, January, and February. Each boat is provided with a crew of about fourteen persons, all thags, but employed in different capacities. Some tow the boat along by a rope, and appear like ordinary river boatmen; some as *sothas*, or inveiglers, follow the boats along the roads that run parallel with the river, and by various arts prevail upon travellers to embark as passengers on board their boats, where they find many thags well dressed and of the most respectable appearance, pretending to be going on, or returning from, a pilgrimage to the holy places of Gaya, Benares, Allahabad, &c. These are the stranglers and their assistants, who, on a signal given by the man at the helm on the deck, strangle the travellers, break their back bones, and push them out of a window in the side into the river. Each boat has one of these windows on each side. Several boats belonging to the same association

“ 1832, I set up a shop in the bazaar of the golandaz in the Hingoli cantonments. I used before to bring cloths from Berar to the cantonments for sale. Sometimes I came with gangs on thaggi, sometimes as a merchant with cloths for sale. Ismael, Mobna, and Bahlin thags also used to live and work in the bazaar, but they all three used to go on the roads. Many travellers used to pass, and a skilful party of thags might have had three or four *affairs* every night without any one being the wiser for it. Travellers were frequently reported to have been murdered by robbers; but people thought the robbers must be in the jungles; and never dreamed that they were murdered by the men they saw every day about them. I never invited a thag to my house, nor did I ever expose any of the articles taken in thaggi for sale. I was much respected by the people of the town and cantonments, and never suspected till arrested.”

* This extract may be thought out of place in a work professing to treat of Central India. But thaggi is, or rather was, one great system spreading over all India, and the river operations formed one of its most characteristic features.

follow each other at a distance of from four to six miles, and when the travellers show any signs of disliking or distrusting the inveigler of one, or any disinclination to embark at the ghat where his boat is to be found, the inveigler of the one in advance learns it by signs from the others as he and the travellers overtake him. The new inveigler gets into conversation with the travellers, and pretends to dislike the appearance of the first, who in his turn pretends to be afraid of the new one, and lags behind while the new man and the traveller congratulate each other on having shaken off so suspicious a character. These men never shed blood, and if any drop touch them, they must return and offer sacrifices. Nothing would tempt them to murder a woman. Their gangs are composed of Mahomedans and Hindus of all castes."

The following account of these river thags is from the deposition of Bakhtawar, a road thag, and afterwards an approver, made at Jabalpur before Major Sleeman, about the year 1835 :—

A thag's confession.

"About fourteen years ago I had been on an expedition from Chapra to Murshedabad. We were twenty-two thags under Seobans, Jemadar, a Rajput. Two of our gang, Khoda Baksh and Ali Yar, had often served with the river thags and used to interest us by talking about their mode of proceeding. On the other side of Rajmahal we fell in with two of these thags. They had two bundles of clothes, and pretended to be going on a pilgrimage and had with them five travellers, whom they had picked up on the road. Seobans recognised them immediately, and Ali Yar and Khoda Baksh found in them old acquaintances. They got into conversation with them, and it was agreed that Seobans, Dhonda Kurmi, and I should go with them and see how they did their work, while the rest of the gang went on along the bank of the river. We embarked at Rajmahal. The travellers sat on one side of the boat, and the thags on the other, while we three were placed

in the stern, the thags on our left, and the travellers on our right. Some of the thags dressed as boatmen were above on the deck, and others walking along the bank of the river and towing the boat by the rope, and all at the same time on the look-out. We came up with a gentleman's pinnace and two baggage boats, and were obliged to stop and let them go on. The travellers seemed anxious, and were re-assured by being told that the men at the rope were tired and must take some refreshment. They pulled out something and began to eat, and when the pinnace had got on a good way they resumed their work, and our boat proceeded. It was now afternoon, and when a signal was given that all was clear, the five thags who sat opposite the travellers sprang in upon them, and, with the aid of others, strangled them. They put the handkerchief round the neck from the front, while all other thags put it round from behind ; they thus push them back, while we push them forward. Having strangled the five men, they broke their spinal bones, and then threw them out at a hole made at the side of the boat into the river. The boat was towed along on its course all the time."

The next extract describes a road expedition. It is a translation of the deposition of another thag taken down by Major Sleeman at Jabalpur :—

"The roads from the Deckan across the Narbadda had become so unsafe from the Pindarries, that all travellers from Puna, Haidarabad, and Nagpur going towards the Ganges, went by way of Sarguja and Sambalpur ; and several of our gangs that went from Bundelkhand and the Doab to that road came back with immense booty for several years. In the Rains of 1806 it was determined that all the gangs should take this direction ; and we accordingly set out. There were more than 40 leaders of note ; among them Bakshi, Jemadar, (whose head was afterwards sent to England by Dr. Spry), and Ghasi, Subadar. We set out from our respective

homes after the Dassehra (in October), passed through Mirzapur, in order to make our votive offerings at the temple of Devi at Vindyachal, and assembled at Rattanpur in the Sarguja district, where we numbered above six hundred thags. From Rattanpur we went to Takatpur, where we murdered a good many travellers who took up their quarters in our several places of encampment. All pretended to have been on furlough, and to be returning from Hindustan to different armies in the Deckan, with relations and friends as recruits. On the third day a female of rank came up. Her husband had been an officer in the Nagpur service, and being left a widow on his death at Nagpur, she was on her way home to his people with her brother-in-law. She occupied a tent, and had a slave girl with her and twelve armed men as a guard. She left Takatpur the morning after her arrival, and was followed by a detachment from every one of our gangs, making a party of one hundred and sixty thags under some of our best leaders. For several days they followed them without finding a convenient opportunity of disposing of them, till they reached the village of Chura. Leaving this place in the morning, they put the whole party to death and buried their bodies in a *nala*. I did not go with this party. When they set out after the widow, we all proceeded towards Nagpur, and on reaching Lahuji, a party of sixty thags remained there, while the rest went on towards Nagpur. I remained with the sixty ; and two days after the main body had left us, a party of forty travellers came up on their way to the Ganges ; thirty-one men, seven women, and two girls. Our leaders soon became intimate with the principal men of this party, pretended to be going to the same part of India, and won their confidence. The next day we set out with them, and in four days reached Rattanpur, where we met the party of one hundred and sixty thags returning after the murder of the widow and her party. We pretended not to know one another. Soon after two hundred of the main body, who

had gone on towards Nagpur from Lahuji, came up, having heard of the forty travellers soon after they left us, and all pretended to be going the same way, without appearing to have any acquaintance with one another. From Rattanpur we proceeded to the village of Chura, whence we sent on people to select a place for the murder. They chose one not far from that where the widow and her party had been put to death. Two thags were sent on to the village of Satranja to see that all was clear in front; and some time before daylight, we set out with the travellers, leaving scouts behind to see that we were not interrupted from the rear. By the time we reached the appointed place, the *bhartotes* and *shamsias* had all, on some pretext or other, got close to the side of the persons whom they were appointed to strangle; and on reaching the spot the signal was given in several places at the same time, and thirty-eight of the forty were put to death. The daughter of one of the travellers, however, was a very handsome young woman; and Pancham, one of the leaders, wished to preserve her as a wife for his son. But when she saw her father and mother strangled, she screamed, beat her head against the stony ground and tried to kill herself. Pancham tried in vain to quiet her, and promised to take great care of her, and marry her to his own son who would be a great chief: but all in vain. She continued to scream, and at last Pancham put the handkerchief round her neck and strangled her. A little girl, about three years old, was the only one of the party allowed to live. Another jemadar kept her for one of his sons. We buried all the bodies in a *nala*, and got property to the value of about seventeen thousand rupees."

The following narrative of an expedition into ^{Narrative of an expedi-} Malwa, Guzerat, Khandaish, and Berar, by gangs _{tion.} from Gwalior, Bundelkhand, and the Sagar districts in 1827-28, is taken from Col. Sleeman's *Report*

*on the Depredations of the Thags of Upper and Central India :—**

A deposition.

1. Feringia left Gorha with twenty-five thags and went to Moghal-ka-Sarai, where they met two Mahrattas, whom they killed, after taking them on three miles.

2. Went to Tappa, in Indore, and there met Chota with five thags, and five other thags; all came to Raghugarh, where they met two Mahrattas and a Marwarri on their way from Sagar to Indore. Soper Singh came up with fifteen thags and three travellers (one a bird-catcher and two shop-keepers) on their way from Indore to Patna, killed them all at night, and buried them near a (baoli) well.

3. Soper Singh and ten of his men came to Bhilsa. Feringia with his twenty-five and five of Soper Singh's crossed the Narbadda at the Puglana ghaut, and proceeded towards Samner, near which they fell in with three sipahis in search of service, killed them at midday in the jungles, and left their bodies exposed.

4. Went to Karajganer Karinji and fell in with a traveller going south. Sixteen miles further on they killed him, and buried him under the walls of a hut.

* "The task of preparing such narratives as are here given, of conducting all those preliminary enquiries which enable us to fix the dates of the particular cases of murder that are tried at the sessions, to place them in their proper position, and to connect them with those which have gone before and those which have followed in the same expeditions, is one of very great difficulty. An approver may be strictly correct in describing all the circumstances of a particular murder; and four approvers examined at the same time in different parts of the country may agree in all the principal points; and yet they may all differ as to the expedition in which it took place. In the narrative of every one it may form one of a totally different series of murders. One believes it to have taken place on their advance, and places it as a link in the chain of murders perpetrated as they were going to Bombay; another believes it to have taken place on their return, and links it with the murders perpetrated on their way back; a third places it in the expedition in which they got the camel-load of Spanish dollars; and a fourth declares that it occurred the year after when they got the dubbloons:—and the only way to settle this point is to bring them all four together, that they may compare recollected circumstances, which at last place it in proper position."—Sleeman.

5. Went through Umraoti to Saran Karnaji, and in camp in the grove they killed a traveller they had taken on with them from Bam, also a thief that was going off with Rs. 1,100 of Dhanraj Seth's from Paraoti, and had hidden himself under graves (*sic*), where Feringia found him.

6. Went to Basam and met Sheikh Miran, "the Great," and Sahib Khan of Khakarwalla, Kali Khan, and Karrim (hanged afterwards at Sagar with fifty thags). Went, all together, to Nander, met five travellers, and murdered them at their encampment.

7. Sahib Khan returned home and the others went to Rovegow (*sic*), where they met nine travellers, took them on three miles, and killed them before daylight.

8. Went to Haidarabad, where they met a Brahman and two Rajputs, in the Bhegan bazaar, at the Husa Naddi bridge, killed them at their lodgings, and buried them near the bridge.

9. Went to Gangakhera, and there met three Marwarries, took them on a stage on the Holwa road, and thereto killed them. Immediately on leaving the village one of the travellers fell from his horse, and they strangled him at once, and afterwards the other two. Left the bodies exposed as they had not reached the appointed *bel*, or place of murder.

10. Went to Pararia, in Holwa, and fell in with a subadar, five sipahis, and one woman, whom they murdered at their encampment.

11. Thence to Doregaon, where they met three pandits, and a *bairagi*, or religious mendicant, mounted on a pony and plastered over with sugar and covered with flies. Drove off the *bairagi*, and killed the other three.

12. On leaving Doregaon, the *bairagi* again joined them and went on in their company to Raojana, where they met six cloth merchants on their way from Bombay to Nagpur; joined them at Kodhankheri, and came to Raojana. The *bairagi* was still with them; so they drove

him off with stones, and he lodged in the village. Killed the six men, and buried them in the grove.

13. The *bairagi* again joined them and came to Mana, where they fell in with two carriers and a soldier; leaving the *bairagi* here they came towards the *bel*, or appointed place of murder, and when near it were again joined by him. Losing all patience, they gave one of the gang five rupees to murder him and take the sin upon himself. All four were strangled, the *bairagi* among the rest, upon whom they were surprised to find 86 lbs. of coral, 350 strings of small pearls, 15 strings of large pearls, and a gilt necklace.

14. Came to Umraoti, intending to go to Aurangabad; but on leaving the former place, they fell in with two men, took them on to Nadgaon, and there killed them in camp. They were treasure-bearers, and had with them four thousand rupees worth of silver.

15. Went to Kuragaon, and thence were on their way to Umraoti, where at a *nala* they fell in with four men, with two bullocks laden with copper coins, killed them there and then, and buried their bodies slightly. After this affair Kali Khan and Karrim went home. The rest proceeded through Barhanpur to Indore, where they met Bhairu, Bhawani, and Ramla, Jemadars, with sixty thags in different bodies.

16. One of the gang brought three Marwarries to a house occupied by a part of the gang, where they were killed and buried.

17. Inveigled four Marwarries and brought them to another party encamped on the banks of the river, where they were killed.

18. Leaving Indore, they fell in with four travellers, and going on with them one stage on the road to Dhar, killed them at the encampment.

19. Feringia with his party, after this affair, came through Sagar, to Chattarpur, where he heard that the people of Dhanraj Seth were in pursuit of him; and with

seventeen thags he went back through Sagar to Kondi, where he met two travellers ; took them on to a place chosen at a distance of two miles, and put them to death.

20. Thence went to Raghugarh, where they fell in with Bhajju with five thags, and Bohorena with five. Leaving that place next day, all together, met Sheikh Inaiat with thirty thags from Ghatiara. Inaiat's party at Doregaon murdered a *chaprassi* ; his *chaprass* was buried with the body.

21. Came to Dabohi, near Bhilsa, where he met Zulfi-khar and Sheikh Lall (both afterwards hanged at Sagar) with twenty thags. There they met a soldier and killed him, and halted the next day. Another came up from Junagarh to Sagar, and he was killed at the same place.

22. After this the whole fifty went on to Baroda, and there all got sick, and came back to Bhilpur, where they fell in with two carriers and killed them at the encampment. Thence proceeded to Udaipur near Dhar.

23. Here they fell in with three soldiers and a traveller, who was made over to them for safety by the blacksmiths of Udaipur. Two miles on this side of the town they killed them next morning, and rested at the village two miles on the other side of Dhar.

24. Here they met an elephant-driver of the Udaipur Raja's, and murdered him in camp the same night at the village of Amjhera.

25. Came on through Mhow to a village a little on the other side of Raghugarh, where they fell in with three carriers. Coming on two miles next morning, they murdered them on the road, near the town of Raghugarh.

26. After this affair they came on through Ashta to a village two miles on this side, where they fell in with a havildar, a sipahi, and a relation of theirs. Came on with them next morning to a place two miles on this side of the village, where they were killed. Soon after this Zulfi-

khar and Sheikh Lall left Inaiat and returned home with their gangs. He went off and joined Feringia.

27. Soon after they had joined parties, Roshan and Dharmkhan (both afterwards hanged at Sagar) came up and told them of the Perwaha ghat affair, said the Police were close after them, and went to their homes. Some of Inaiat's party returned home with them, and he had only twenty-one left; Feringia had seventeen; and Bajju and Bohorena had ten. They all came back to the river near Pipala from fear of the Police, and there fell in with two soldiers, a woman, and a relation. They brought them on to Pipala, where they were all four put to death in camp.

28. After the last affair they came to a village called Jhandawalla, where a carrier joined them, whom they murdered in their encampment.

29. After this they came on to Tappa and were leaving that place next morning, when a havildar, his wife, a sipahi, and the wife of a subadar joined them, and came on to a village three miles on the other side of Ashta. Coming on with them next morning they put them to death, and then came on to Khanjarra.

30. Here they fell in with two soldiers on their way to their homes at Hossna Fattehpur, and put them to death in camp.

31. At Manora they fell in with two soldiers, whom they put to death next morning two miles east of the village.

32. After this affair Inaiat and his party came on through Sagar to Koksali in Chattarpur, where he fell in with two sipahis, killed them in camp, and then went home. Feringia came on after them to Sagar, whence he proceeded to his home in Tehri.

A total of one hundred and five men were murdered in this expedition.

Noticeable
features in
above narra-
tive.

There are four noticeable points about this expedition:—(1) the immense distance travelled; (2) the number of other thag gangs fallen in with; (3) the

invariable success in inveigling travellers ; (4) the unerring certainty with which they were put to death. Sir William Sleeman made a great collection of such narratives ; but it seems unnecessary to give any other example than the above, though others might be cited containing more minute and thrilling descriptions of the scenes at the *bels*, or places of murder. It will, however, give some idea of the magnitude of the evil to be contended with to reproduce from one of Colonel Sleeman's Reports a tabular statement giving particulars respecting eighty-two gangs operating in Malwa and Khandeish alone in the year 1829.

NAMES OF GANG LEADERS.	Castes.	Place of residence.	REMARKS.	No. of thags in gang.
per Singh ...	Rajput ...	Gwalior ...	Hanged at Sagar, 1832 ...	20
husala ...	Mussalman	" ...	Transported, 1832	10
lsa ...	" ...	" ...	Died in his own house, 1830	10
hukua ...	" ...	" ...	Transported, 1832	40
ti Singh ...	Rajput ...	Jhansi ...	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	30
ramma ...	Mussalman	Cawnpore ...	" " "	8
allua ...	Lohar	Khandeish...	" " "	6
angu ...	Barber	Bundelkhand	" " "	6
ringia ...	Brahman	Gwalior	Approver	23
jan ...	" ...	"	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	24
uls ...	" ...	"	Approver	13
shorena ...	Lodhi	Hatta	Died in prison, 1832	5
ira ...	Ahir	Gwalior	Approver	...
anga Din ...	Lodhi	Samphar	Hanged at Jaora, 1829	7
aria ...	Rajput	Ringoli	Approver	5
il Khan ...	Mussalman	Kalpi	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	8
lhar ...	Rajput	Baitul	"	5
ussein Khan ...	Mussalman	Haidarabad	Hanged at Jabalpur, 1836	10
veikh Miran ...	" ...	"	Approver	20
ilikh ...	" ...	Sagar	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	7
ojahat Khan ...	" ...	Haidarabad	Hanged at Jabalpur, 1835	20
arid Khan ...	" ...	"	"	20
ali Khan ...	" ...	"	Died in prison ...	8
ilikh ...	" ...	Panna	Approver	19
ur Khan ...	" ...	Jhansi	Hanged at Jabalpur, 1835	9
meid ...	Lodhi	Cawnpore	" at Sagar, 1832	9
o Din ...	"	"	Approver	20
iaiat ...	Mussalman	Jhansi	"	10
alim ...	" ...	Tehri	Died in his house, 1835	10
shraf ...	" ...	Gwalior	"	6
akht ...	Lodhi	Samphar	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	6
akht ...	Brahman	Gwalior	Transported, 1832	6

MAMES OF GANG LEADERS,	Castes.	Place of residence.	REMARKS.	N ^o of thaggi in gang
Bheka	Mussalman	Jhansi	...	6
Bhagi	Lodhi	Cawnpore	Died in prison, 1833	20
Khalak	"	"	Hanged at Sagar, 1833	10
Bhwani	"	Jalaon	Approver	20
Dhokal	"	Cawnpore	Transported, 1832	5
Bhola	Baniya	Jalaon	Died in prison, 1832	9
Khoman	Mussalman	Jhansi	Approver	2
Budha	"	"	"	3
Khairati	"	Sagar	"	5
Ram Baksh	Lodhi	Farrakhabad	"	5
Prasada	"	"	"	5
Diba	Baniva	"	Hanged at Jabalpur, 1836	5
Mehrban	Lodhi	Cawnpore	Hanged at Sagar, 1833	5
Esuri	"	"	Approver	10
Dhanua	"	"	Hanged at Jabalpur, 1836	10
Har Lall	"	"	Hanged at Sagar, 1833	8
Bhikhan Khan	Mussalman	Kalpi	Approver	...
Chand Khan	"	Jhansi	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	...
Dalel Khan	"	"	"	10
Badlu	Lodhi	"	"	10
Paramsukh	Brahman	Gwalior	"	10
Muni Ram	Lodhi	Jhansi	"	10
Hira	Ahir	"	Approver	10
Ram Baksh	Brahman	Gwalior	"	20
Choti	"	Jhansi	Approver	5
Bhudai	"	"	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	5
Bakht Moria	"	Gwalior	"	5
Surjan	Ahir	"	"	10
Jawahir	Rajput	Indore	Approver	5
Nanhua	Koli	Gwalior	"	10
Mandhata	Lodhi	Etawa	"	...
Dirgpal	Brahman	Gwalior	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	...
Moti	Lodhi	"	"	...
Darru	Mussalman	Sindouse	" at Jaora, 1830	...
Sutar Khan	"	Dholepur	" at Sagar, 1832	22
Bhimi	Lodhi	Gwalior	Approver	...
Sahadat	Mussalman	"	"	22
Piarji	Naik	Jaipore	"	...
Ainan	Mussalman	Gwalior	Hanged at Sagar, 1832	...
Chattar	Ahir	"	"	...
Kanhyu	"	"	"	...
Kalua	Rajput	"	Killed resisting arrest	29
Bhika	Mahrathia	"	"	...
Kali Khan	Mussalman	Koel	Hanged, 1837	...
Emami	"	Gwalior	Approver	...
Amir Ali	"	"	"	...
Punu	"	"	"	...
Kali Khan	"	Narsinghpur	Died in prison	...
Chadami	Ahir	Gwalior	Hanged at Sagar	...
	Mussalman	Narsinghpur	" "	...

The suppression of thaggi.

It will now be necessary to trace the progress of the organised measures adopted by Government for the suppression of this system of murder and rapine.

As early as April, 1819, the Commander-in-Chief ^{Warning issued by the Commander-in-Chief.} of the Army thought it necessary to issue the following order, cautioning the native troops against the dangers of the road.

General Orders by Major-General St. Leger, commanding the Forces, Head-quarters, Cawnpore, April 28th, 1819 :—

It having come to the knowledge of Government that several sipahis, proceeding to visit their families on leave of absence from their corps, have been robbed and murdered by a description of persons denominated thags, who infested the districts of the Doab and other parts of the Upper Provinces, and the insidious means by which they prosecute their plans of robbery and assassination having been ascertained, the Commander of the Forces thinks it proper to give them publicity in General Orders to the end that Commanding Officers of Native Corps may put their men on their guard accordingly.

It has been stated that these murderers, when they obtain information of a traveller* who is supposed to have money about his person, contrive to fall in with him on the road, or in the serais; and under pretence of proceeding to the same place, keep him company, and by indirect questions get an insight into his affairs, after which they watch for an opportunity to destroy him. This they sometimes create by persuading the traveller to quit the

* In old days money-carrying was a calling followed by a particular class of men, whose fidelity, sagacity, and beggarly appearance were relied upon by the bankers of Bombay and Surat, who sent through them their remittances in gold and jewels to Malwa and Rajputana. These men were especially preyed upon by the thags; and from the year 1824 to 1830 the following sums are known to have been taken from them :—at Chanpara, on the Tapti (fourteen persons murdered), Rs. 25,000; Malagaon, Khandeish (seven persons murdered), Rs. 22,000; Dharkote, Khandeish (three persons murdered), Rs. 12,000; Banwahaghat, on the Narbadda (nine persons murdered), Rs. 40,000; Dhori, Khandeish (six persons murdered), Rs. 82,000; Baroda (twenty-five persons murdered), Rs. 10,000.

serais a little after midnight, pretending it is near day-break, or by detaching him from his companions, lead him under various pretences to some solitary spot. It appears that in the destruction of their victim they first use some deleterious substance, commonly the seeds of a plant called *dhatura*, which they contrive to administer in tobacco, pan, the food, or drink of the traveller. As soon as the poison begins to take effect, by inducing a stupor, or languor, they strangle him to prevent his crying out; when, after stripping and plundering him, the deed is completed by a stab in the belly on the brink of a well, into which they plunge the body so instantaneously that no blood can stain the ground or the clothes of the assassins.

As the Company's sipahis who proceed on leave of absence generally carry about them the savings from their pay in specie, and travel unarmed, they are eagerly sought out by these robbers as the particular objects of their depredation. With a view, therefore, to guard against such atrocious deeds, the Commanding Officers of Native Corps will caution their men when proceeding on leave of absence—

1st.—To be particularly on their guard against all persons (particularly those unarmed) whom they fall in with on the road who evince a solicitude to keep them company on pretence that they are going the same way and are inquisitive about their affairs.

2nd.—Not to quit the serais at a very early hour in the morning before the rest of the travellers.

3rd.—Not to receive pan, tobacco, sweetmeats, &c., from such persons, or smoke their huqqas, particularly if offered to them on solitary spots on the roads; and lastly, to avail themselves of the protection of horsemen when opportunity offers, or travel as much as possible with large bodies of people. This last object might be attained in a great degree if the men were persuaded, on occasions of periodical leave of absence, to keep together on the road, as long as the several destinations of such native commissioned;

or non-commissioned officers as may be proceeding the same way will admit.

It has also been intimated to the Major-General Commanding the Forces, that the Residents at Delhi and Lucknow and Collectors of Revenue will be authorised, on the application of Commanding Officers, or Paymasters, to grant bills payable at sight, and at the usual exchange on any other treasury for sums which may be paid into their own treasuries on account of sipahis wishing to remit money from one part of the country to another ; a mode which, in conformity with the views of Government, is particularly to be encouraged and attended to by officers commanding corps and detachments.

In 1820 a large gang of thags was arrested by General Adams and Major Macpherson in crossing the Narbadda valley : but though well known to be murderers, from some flaw in the preliminary enquiries, the arm of the law could not be employed against them, and all but one were released.

In 1823 a gang of one hundred and fifteen was arrested by Mr. Molony on the same route, and they were committed for trial by Captain W. H. Sleeman before Mr. F. C. Smith, and all convicted.

In 1826 a large gang, crossing the Narbadda on their way to Malwa, was arrested by Major Wardlow, and sent by him to Mr. Charles Fraser, then Magistrate of Jabalpur. This officer conducted the preliminary enquiry, and committed them for trial before Mr. Wilder, Agent to the Governor-General at Jabalpur, who tried and convicted them all.

In 1828, Captain Borthwick, Political Agent at Mehidpur, seized a gang of seventy-four thags at Bhilwarra. They were tried by Colonel Stewart, the Resident at Indore, and forty were condemned to

death, the remainder to various terms of transportation.

Gang arrested in 1829.

In 1829, systematic operations were organised for the suppression of thaggi under the administration of Lord William Bentinck. The officers employed were Captain W. H. Sleeman and Captain Borthwick, Colonel Stewart and Mr. F. C. Smith.

Gang arrested in 1830.

The first fruit of this system was the arrest of a gang by Captain W. H. Sleeman in Bhopal at the beginning of the year 1830.

Gang arrested in 1831.

In 1831, Captain Borthwick, accompanied by Captain Macmahon and a party of two hundred troopers of the Jaora Contingent, made a night march of thirty miles, and arrested an entire gang of about fifty thags, with property to the value of about Rs. 12,000. Twenty-one of these miscreants were executed, fifteen condemned to penal servitude for life, and eleven to imprisonment at Bombay for fourteen years.

Trials in native territories.

The trial of thags for murders perpetrated in the Haidarabad, Indore, and Oudh dominions was, with the consent of these different States, made over to the British Residents, but subject to the revision and final orders of the Supreme Government. In our own provinces thags might be made over for trial to the regular tribunals ; but, with the sanction of Government, the venue might be transferred from the Court of any one district to that of another, or to that of the Special Commissioner for the whole of Upper India Mr. Stockwell, then Commissioner of the Allahabad Division, who undertook this onerous and responsible task in addition to his proper duties.

Office of
Genl. Supdt.

In January, 1835, Captain W. H. Sleeman, Principal Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General at

Sagar, was placed in charge of these operations, under the designation of "General Superintendent for the suppression of Thaggi in India."

He made Sagar the centre of operations ; but in the same year removed his head-quarters to Jabalpur. The operations of the Department soon extended from Lahore to the Carnatic, being carried on by a number of officers* specially appointed, who were assisted by bodies† of police and detachments of regular troops. Every gang that was seized furnished a number of approvers, through whose information other gangs were hunted down. Lists and descriptions of the members of gangs at large were circulated to district officers, together with maps showing the ordinary routes taken by the thag expeditions, with the *bels*, or places of murder, marked (verified by the exhuming of bodies). By October, 1835, the entire system had received its death-blow. More than two thousand thags had been arrested ; three hundred and eighty-two had been hanged ; nine hundred and nine transported ; seventy-seven imprisoned for life ; about two hundred and

Head-quarters moved from Sagar to Jabalpur.

The system received its death-blow by 1835

* In May, 1832, Captain P. A. Reynolds was appointed to superintend our operations to the south of the Narbadda ; in September of the same year, Mr. J. C. Wilson, to superintend operations between the Ganges and the Jamna ; in February, 1833, Mr. D. F. Macleod (afterwards Sir Donald Macleod, Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab), to superintend those in Rajputana, Malwa, and Delhi.

† In March, 1831, a company of Najibs was added to the Jabalpur local police, exclusively for employment under Captain W. H. Sleeman ; and in April another company was added to the same corps for employment under Captain P. A. Reynolds to the south of the Narbadda. In 1833, three detachments of regular troops (native infantry) were placed at the disposal of Captain W. H. Sleeman and his assistants.

fifty had been admitted as king's evidences, on the condition of exemption from the punishment of death and transportation beyond the seas ; seventy-one had been sentenced to limited terms of imprisonment, and thirty-one had died after committal and before

Upper India
free from
thags. sentence. Captain W. H. Sleeman was at this time able to report that from the Himalaya Mountains to the

Narbadda River, and from the Ganges to the Indus, there was not a road, except in the western parts of Rajputana and Guzerat, that was not free from the depredations of thags.

Hot pursuit. During the next four years Sleeman and his assistants were indefatigable in hunting down fragmentary gangs and individuals still at large. In some cases the pursuit was so hot and unremitting that it rendered life perfectly intolerable to its unhappy objects, and they gave themselves up, declaring that life with the ban-dogs of justice after them—life without sleep or rest, without name or home, with the ever-present dread of arrest before them, was not worth having.

Thaggi final-
ly suppressed
in 1839. Sleeman names the year 1839 as that in which thaggi was finally suppressed :—“ I am disposed to “ think that there is not at this time any considerable “ organised gang of these assassins left in any part of “ India : but where so very many of their members “ are still at large, it is impossible to doubt that they “ occasionally commit murders ; as, for the most part, “ they have never learnt any trade, and certainly “ will never follow any other, while they can with “ any chance of success pursue this. The greater “ part of those who have eluded our pursuit have “ found an asylum in the service of native Chiefs, and

“ become members of their civil and military establishments ; but they will quit these establishments “ as soon as they find our pursuit relaxed. The qualities which gave them most influence among their “ fraternity are precisely those which endear them “ most to their new masters and companions ; and “ while we find it easy to get from a native Chief a “ thag who is not worth having, because he can do “ no mischief if left alone, we find it extremely difficult “ to obtain any of those influential characters who “ could re-create their gangs in any part of India if “ left unmolested for a few seasons.”

There were in 1840 upwards of two thousand thags ^{Stray thags} still at large, or unaccounted for on the General Regis- ^{at large in 1840.} ter. Their names, caste, parentage, villages, and approximate age, were known : but they eluded pursuit. They were only, however, the isolated members of gangs, and were quite unable to practise their murderous trade.

In April, 1837, the office of Commissioner for the ^{Dakaiti, or robbery.} Suppression of Dakaiti was created by the then Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western Provinces, Sir Charles Metcalfe, and Mr. Hugh Fraser of the Bengal Civil Service was appointed to conduct its duties. The object set before him was “ the suppression of the “ crime of gang-robbery, perpetrated by violence, “ most frequently at night, and often attended with “ bloodshed.” It was stated in the official instruc- ^{Instructions for Commissioner appointed to suppress daka- kaiti.} tions drawn up for Mr. Fraser’s guidance, (1) that these outrages were understood to be generally committed by organised bands of depredators, who resided at a distance from the scene of their atrocities, but were enabled by the extensive means of informa-

tion they possessed, to ascertain where plunder could be most easily found ; (2) that the suddenness of their attack enabled them to overpower resistance at the time, while their immediate dispersion after success effectually baffled all pursuit ; (3) that the extent of country over which their depredations extended, and the rapidity of their movements, offered various impediments to any successful exertions on the part of the local Magistrates to prevent their attacks, or to bring the offenders to punishment after the perpetration of their crimes ; (4) that to meet the difficulty, it had been resolved to invest the Commissioner with sufficient powers to enable him, by a well-directed system of research, to seek out these criminals in their usual haunts ; to lay open their whole proceedings and economy ; to track their steps whenever they might set out on their expeditions ; to prevent, if possible, their success, or, at any rate, to pursue them afterwards wherever they might fly, and effectually to punish and suppress them.

Powers con-
ferred upon
Commission-
er.

To enable him to effect all these objects, the Commissioner was invested* with co-ordinate powers as Magistrate throughout the whole of the North-Western Provinces ; and the Magistrates were ordered to assist him, and to act with alacrity on any informa-

* Cf. present legislation, sec. 32, Code of Criminal Procedure :—" Whenever any person is charged with being a thag, or with murder as a thag, or with dakaity, with or without murder, or with having belonged to a gang of dakaits, or having belonged to any wandering or other gang of thieves associated for the purpose of habitually committing theft or robbery, and not being a gang of thags or dakaits, the offence may be enquired into in any District in which the accused person is, by any Magistrate competent to commit to a Court of Session, and the accused person may be committed to the Court of Session to which such Magistrate is subordinate."

tion that he might convey to them. The whole of the local police were directed to help his agents, and to pay immediate attention to any requisition that he might address to them. The commitments of offenders for trial were to be made, as in ordinary course, by the Magistrates of Districts ; but the Commissioner was at liberty at any time to take into his own hands the conduct of any case which might appear to him to require it. Should he ascertain that any bands of dakaits had designs upon foreign States, or had penetrated into, or found shelter or protection within, them, the Commissioner was to report the same to Government for orders ; and he had authority to confer rewards to the extent of one hundred rupees for good service in any particular case, and to submit applications to Government for higher rewards when they might appear to be necessary.

The activity of this Commissioner was to be directed especially against the Badhak or Bagri Dakaits of the deep jungles that lie at the foot of the Himalayas known as the *Terai*. That portion of the forest which lay within the borders of the kingdom of Oudh was the special home of this great criminal fraternity, from which they issued in large armed bodies to plunder the country far and wide. A peculiar dialect,* peculiar practices, and the tradition of a common origin bound them together. "No District," writes Sir W. Sleeman, "between the Brahmaputra, the Narbadda, the Sutlej, and the Himalaya Mountains was free from "the daring attacks of this great family of professional "and hereditary robbers; and within this vast field

The Badhak dakaits.

Extent of their operations.

* A dialect of Gujarathi.

“hardly any wealthy merchant, or manufacturer, “could feel himself secure for a single night from their “depredations. They had successfully attacked so “many of the treasuries of our native Collectors of “Revenue, that it was deemed necessary all over the “North-Western Provinces to surround them with “extensive fortifications. In many cases they carried “off our public treasure from strong parties of our “regular troops and mounted police, and no one seemed “ed to know whence they came, or whither they fled “with the booty acquired. No Magistrate who heard “of a dakaiti, indicating the hand of a Badhak, could “hope that any efforts on his part to catch or trace “him would be successful, whatever means he might “have at command.”

Thaggi and
Dakaiti Sup-
pression De-
partments
amalgamat-
ed, 1839.

In the latter end of 1838 the Governor-General, Lord Auckland, who was at Simla and retained in his own hands the government of the North-Western Provinces, determined to unite the office of Commissioner for the Suppression of Dakaiti to that of the General Superintendent of Measures for the Suppression of Thaggi throughout India ; and Major Sleeman already holding the latter received charge of the former office from Mr. Hugh Fraser in February, 1839.* He now moved his head-quarters from Jabalpur to Muradabad, and stationed an Assistant at each of the following places,—Jabalpur, Chapra, Agra, Murshedabad, Mirath, Ajmir, Lucknow, Gorakhpur, and Indore.† The Assistants were invested with the pow-

* Though placed under one officer, Dakaiti remained under the North-Western Provinces Government and Thaggi under the Supreme Government until 1849, when they were united under the Supreme Government.

† Captain Reyneds and Lieutenant Chas. Brown at Jabalpur ; Captain W. M. Ramsay, Chapra ; Captain J. Graham, Agra ; Captain White-

ers of Joint Magistrates within the Districts in which they resided, and had concurrent jurisdiction within all the other Districts of their respective Divisions. In Native States they acted under the control of the Political Officers, in the same manner as, in our own territories, they acted under that of the ordinary judicial authorities.

In order to induce the reclaimed dakaits to disclose freely all that they knew, and to aid cordially in the arrest and conviction of their associates, Government (in letters dated June 27th and July 29th, 1839) authorised Major Sleeman and all his coadjutors to promise a conditional pardon to all dakaits by profession of whatever grade, provided (1) that such persons made a full and free confession ; (2) pleaded guilty before the Court to which they might be committed to such offences previously acknowledged in their narrative as it might be deemed expedient to commit them to trial for ; (3) gave true and faithful information respecting their accomplices and touching all circumstances connected with cases of dakaity when called upon to do so ; (4) and had a specific sentence recorded against them by the Sessions Court. The following form of certificate, to be given to all dakaits so conditionally pardoned, was approved by Government :—

You, _____, are promised exemption from the punishment of death and transportation beyond seas for all past offences, and such reasonable indulgences as your services may seem to merit and that may be compatible with

ford, Murshedabad ; Lieutenant Miles, Mirath ; Lieutenant Birch, Ajmir ; Captain Paton, Lucknow ; Captain James Sleeman, Gorakhpur ; and Captain Riddeil, Indore.

your safe custody, on condition, 1st, that you make a full confession of all the dakaities in which you have been engaged ; 2nd, that you mention truly the names of all your associates in these crimes, and assist to the utmost of your power in their arrest and conviction. If you act contrary to these conditions, conceal any of the circumstances of the dakaities in which you have been engaged, screen any of your friends, attempt to escape, or accuse any innocent person, you shall be considered to have forfeited thereby all claim to such exemption and indulgence.

**The precision
with which
confessions
are made.**

An instance.

The precision with which the oldest men recorded the robberies at which they had assisted during their whole lives was often wonderful. Laka, one of the leaders of the Oudh Tarai gangs, captured by Major Sleeman in Rohilkhand, described forty-nine dakaities at which he had been present during a career of twenty-five years. The local authorities to whom his narrative was sent admitted forty-one as having been perpetrated precisely as he described them. Some of these took place near Calcutta, four or five hundred miles from the bivouac in the Oudh forest from which the gang had set out. But eight of these dakaities were declared by the Magistrates and other local authorities never to have taken place at all. After a time three more were admitted, though all record of them was lost ; and Laka was sent out to point out the scenes of the five still unaccounted for. This he succeeded in doing ; and in every case his statements were corroborated by the persons actually robbed ; who had, as is very commonly the case, deliberately withheld all information regarding their losses from the Magistrates fearing the treatment they would receive as plaintiffs or witnesses at the

**Information
deliberately
withheld.**

hands of the police, and still more fearing the anger of the great robber fraternity. Major Sleeman declared that he never knew a European sportsman narrate more accurately or minutely the events of a sporting excursion in which he has been engaged than the oldest of the approvers would relate the circumstances of a robbery in which he had been engaged in his youth.

Some of these narratives described a life of crime ^{A long course of crime.} extending to thirty, forty, and even fifty years, after the deponents had attained the age of eighteen or twenty years. Thags were in the habit of taking out their sons and relations at a much earlier age to get a share of the booty ; and this they could do with safety as their crimes were concealed with the burial of their victims, and they did not require the same maturity of strength and courage in all the members of their gangs ; but the Badhak Dakaits committed their attacks with open violence as soon as night set in, and had to retire with their booty and place the greatest possible distance between themselves and the place attacked before they halted. They walked as fast as they could the whole night and the great part of the next day before they ventured to rest. They had often to seize their spoil from strong, brave, and well-armed guards, and to enter large towns and scale high walls ; and they required that everyone should be strong, cool, courageous, and well-trained to act his part in the post assigned him, so that they might, like good soldiers, feel perfect confidence in each other's support under all circumstances of difficulty and danger.

^{Dakaits require maturity of strength.}

Captain J. Sleeman succeeds his uncle.

Captain James Sleeman, Superintendent of Measures for the Suppression of Thaggi and Dakaiti at Jabalpur, succeeded his uncle, Sir W. H. Sleeman,* as General Superintendent, in April, 1849.

Captain Gib officiates.

In 1859 he went home on sick leave, and Captain W. A. Gib, Assistant General Superintendent, Ellichpur Circle, received temporary charge of the office.

Major Hervey succeeds General Sleeman.

Major C. Hervey took overcharge of the Office from Captain Gib in March, 1859, as officiating General Superintendent, and was confirmed in the appointment in March, 1860.

Mr. A. Hume's charge against the Department.

In 1859, Mr. Allan Hume, then Magistrate of Etawa, made a series of charges against the Department in a letter addressed to the Government of the North-Western Provinces. He declared that the system of working on information obtained from approvers was an engine of wrong and oppression, which the native officials about the Courts knew how to turn to sinister account. "I will freely confess," wrote Mr. Hume, that "the Department does some good by ridding society of numbers of its worst enemies, who, if not always guilty of the particular offences of which they are convicted, are yet well out of the way; but I sincerely believe that it does far more harm than good, like every system based upon a principle of doing evil that good may come, and I conceive it to be an institution utterly foreign to the spirit of an enlightened age, and utterly repugnant to the principles of true justice."

Major Hervey's reply.

This letter was forwarded to the Government of India, and Major Hervey was called upon for a reply. This officer at once entered upon a thorough investigation of the working of the Department in the various

* Appointed Resident at Lucknow.

centres* of operation ; and was able, after researches that occupied four or five months, to transmit to the Government of India a mass of evidence, which the Governor-General considered "a most complete and "conclusive vindication of the Thaggi Department "against the charges brought by Mr. Hume."

In the letter which conveyed to Major Hervey this Government satisfactory assurance, the Government of India took ^{exonerates} the Department occasion to comment upon the length of time during which the officers of the Department in the Native States sometimes detained accused persons in custody without trial. Similar remarks drew from Colonel Hervey, on several subsequent occasions, lengthy Reports explaining and justifying the principles on which the operations of his Department were conducted.

In 1863 (Resolution, Foreign Department, No. 121, dated 8th July) the Department was reconstituted for duty in the Native States exclusively. By a Resolution of February, 1865, Political Agents at Native Courts were appointed Superintendents for the Suppression of Thaggi and Dakaiti within the limits of their own political charges, in communication with the General Superintendent : while, in addition to this, six Assistant Superintendents, under the orders of the General Superintendent, carry on the work of the Department at Haidarabad, Jalna, Baroda, Indore, Mount Abu, and Shujangarh. With the exception of the Assistant at Jalna† all these officers have heavy political

* Haidarabad, Captain Thornhill ; Nagpur, Captain Shakespear ; Jabalpur, Captain Dickson and Captain W. A. Gib ; Lucknow, Captain T. H. Chamberlain ; Lahore, Captain G. McAndrew ; and Midnapur, Captain H. M. Boddam.

† An officer (Mr. Fitzgerald) has recently been stationed at Nimach, under the orders of the Agent to the Governor-General for Rajputana, to consider measures for the suppression of the Moghia Baorias.

duties to discharge in addition to this Thaggi and Dakaiti work. Colonel Hervey, in several letters and Reports, made strong representations against the continuance of this system: urging upon Government the expediency of reverting to the plan of District Assistants, whose time and energies should be entirely at the disposal of his office.

Establishments.

The establishments sanctioned for the Department in 1863 were curtailed in 1864; and again, owing to financial pressure, in 1869. The General Superintendent's pay, however, was raised in 1864 from Rs. 1,400 to Rs. 1,700 per mensem; and again in March, 1878, when the appointment was included among those pertaining to the graded officers of the Political Service, it was raised to Rs. 2,500.

Colonel Hervey's successors.

Colonel Hervey was succeeded in July, 1874, by Major Bradford, who was succeeded in March, 1878, by Major Henderson, the present incumbent.

Present duties of Department.

Thaggi by strangulation* hardly exists now; but dakaiti, or gang-robbery, still occurs from time to time in the Native States, and many notorious criminals on the Departmental Registers are yet unaccounted for.

The scope of operations.

The Department only operates against the professional classes of criminals. Individuals are denounced by approvers giving independent evidence at different places. Their names are entered upon the

* The inveigling of unwary travellers and the disposal of them by dhatura poisoning with a view to robbery is a form of thaggi now attracting the attention of Government; but as the crime is committed by individuals forming no special class, and associated in no gangs or societies, the Thaggi and Dakaiti Department cannot operate against them. Some interesting particulars regarding this form of crime will be found in Major Bradford's Report for 1875, and in an office précis of the Home Department, dated June, 1878, circulated for information.

General Register, and they may then at any time be arrested, without warrant, by the officers of the Department to take their trial on the crime with which they are charged.

The following statement shows the number of registered criminals throughout India at large on the 1st of January, 1877:—

148	Panjabi Thag stranglers.
3	Panjabi professional poisoners.
138	Hindustani thag stranglers.
55	Hindustani professional poisoners.
238	Brinjara and Multani dakaits.
7	Chaggra dakaits.
22	Bhil "
199	Khaikari
96	Khanjar
2	Takinkar
4	Kalhatti
27	Beria
22	Mhaug
1	Badouria
44	Mina
113	Moghia
11	Baria-baffs
24	Dher
34	Naik
20	Rajput
44	Miscellaneous

APPENDIX.

OPERATIONS IN CENTRAL INDIA.

Extrac^t from further Report of the Operations of the Thaggi and Dakaiti Department in Native States, by Col. Hervey, 1866.

Gwalior.

Gwalior.—“All the records of the Gwalior Agency were lost or destroyed during the mutiny of 1857, which, I regret, prevents my submitting more than the following few remarks connected with Thaggi measures in this independent Chiefship:—

“It appears from the introduction to the late Sir William Sloeman's printed work entitled “Ramassiana” (page 16), that the Marquis of Hastings intended that the Gwalior Contingent should be employed in the extermination of the dakaits and thags who infested Sindia's Territories; but when in 1835 the General Superintendent enquired regarding this arrangement, he was unable to obtain any distinct information on the subject from any quarter.

“In 1833, when Mr. F. D. Macleod, Assistant General Superintendent, had visited Gwalior, he reported to the Agent to the Governor-General, that during his entire stay in that territory he experienced the greatest attention, and that great willingness to co-operate with the measures of the British Government was displayed by Her Highness the Baiza Bai and by her Suba, Narayan Rao, who was the principal organ of communication with him; also that he had no occasion to apply for assistance which was not promptly afforded. But it was experienced at the time, that well disposed however as Her Highness might be to the cause, yet, owing to the understanding and mutual good will formerly existing between thags and the inferior officers, of almost every State in the land, there were not wanting numerous persons connected with the Durbar who viewed our proceedings with dislike and apprehension. A disposition to check enquiry manifested itself, which would, no doubt, have rapidly expanded, had not the Resident himself interposed his influence. A failure to obtain from the Maharaja's cantonments at Gwalior any one of several thags who resided in them, was attributed to the same cause, and on the whole, it was believed that for the continuance of our success it was quite essential that the Durbar should be made to perceive an equal interest in the undertaking on the part of the Resident himself. But the Gwalior Durbar may be considered to have lent its co-operation in our measures from the period of Mr. Macleod's visit to Gwalior, *viz.*, 1833.

“On the 18th September, 1839, the General Superintendent reported to Government that the Gwalior troops were engaged in the pursuit of the Chambal colonies of dakaits in co-operation with the parties despatched by his Assistants, Captain Graham from Agra and

Captain Birch from Rajputana, and that Sindia was manifesting the utmost zeal in the good cause, but that the local administrative officers of Gwalior, instead of aiding in the arrest of these gangs, were doing everything in their power to prevent it, in order that their participation in their crimes might not be discovered.

"In 1840, the General Superintendent again reported to Government that while Gwalior had been the greatest nursery of robbers and murderers, that Court had never, like the others, contributed towards the expense of relieving society from their depredations, or, except on very rare occasions, done anything more than give a reluctant acquiescence in the arrest of offenders; and this, although incompatible with what has been said of the Maharaja's own implied willingness to assist the Department, was altogether in keeping with the feeling and procedure of the subordinate officers of the Durbar.

"It was hereupon communicated to the Durbar of Sindia, by order of the Governor-General, in the language which was generally used to every Chieftain, that, aware as the British Government was that many Native Rulers entertained a sensitive dread of the intervention of British officers with matters affecting their internal administration, it was generally well known what a lamentable extent of evil to the community arose from the refuge which was afforded to organised bands of professional robbers within their States, and that the murders and outrages they committed at the most distant points throughout our own districts and those of States in alliance with us were so numerous, and had been so frequently attended with entire impunity, as to impose upon the Government of India the duty of establishing a general and systematic plan for following up the gangs to their own haunts, where alone it had been found by experience any efforts against them could be effectual. For the execution of such a plan the hearty co-operation of all the States was obviously indispensable, otherwise the expulsion of the dakaits from one quarter would only lead to their assemblage in another. The subject was one which Government declared, engaged 'the constant and anxious attention of the Governor-General in Council, who could have few objects nearer to his heart than to extinguish a system of plunder, the long continuance of which had been a scourge to the community and a reproach to the Government of India.' It was further explained, that to leave the execution of such measures entirely to local native agents, who might be unable to resist the wealth, and would be too much afraid of the power of the dakaits leaders, would too probably be to ensure its defeat; and that the necessary supervision must be entrusted to European officers, in every manner the most acceptable to His Highness.

"In reply, the Maharaja expressed himself, through the British Resident at his Court (13th October, 1840), 'to be equally anxious with His Lordship to put an end to the system of plundering which these dakaits have been so long engaged in, and to seize and disperse their bands, which have been, unfortunately, for years the terror of

every description of inhabitant who had any wealth or property to lose in native cities or villages.' The appointment of a distinct officer of the Department in Sindia's territories was at this date assented to by His Highness, and Lieutenant Ellis, Assistant General Superintendent, was deputed to Gwalior accordingly.

"The Durbar was, however, disinclined to raise a Najib Force for the suppression of thaggi and dakaiti in Gwalior territory, but after considerable discussion, the Maharaja consented (October, 1841) to grant rupees 1,200 per mensem for this purpose. The Gwalior Government also maintained at their own cost all the prisoners made over to them: prisoners under examination and trial were maintained at the cost of the British Government; but the contribution of rupees 1,200 ceased when the Thaggi Agency for Gwalior was (1852) removed and centred in that at Agra. Contribution to a smaller amount was, however, renewed by the Resolution of the Governor-General, dated 5th November, 1863, on the re-establishment of an Agency of the Department for all the Central India States.

"This measure included Sindia's territories, and according to that Resolution, Sindia's Government has to contribute its portion of the amount, which was directed to be annually levied aggregately from all the Central India States.

"The Treaties with Sindia are of amity and peace, independent authority, equal alliance and reciprocal protection. The friends and enemies of either State are to be regarded as the friends and enemies of both, and the interests of both Governments identical. The subordinate co-operation of this State with the measures of British Government for the public welfare has not, however, been secured, in so many words, or the supremacy of the British Government acknowledged by any Treaty that I am aware of, the Government of Sindia being recognised as one of full Sovereignty. But its co-operation may be said to have been fairly implied by the general tenor of the several Treaties made with the Maharaja, and by the emphatic declaration of Government when, on the occasion of certain districts being restored for the maintenance of the Gwalior Contingent (the declared legitimate purposes of which, and of the British subsidiary force, were the suppression of plunderers), it was intimated to it that Government would not permit those districts to become haunts of oppression and disorder dangerous to neighbouring territories, and that if any mismanagement should occur of a nature to endanger the security of the surrounding districts, those districts would be at once taken possession of by the British Government, and not again restored. But the co-operation of the Gwalior Durbar in such matters may be said to have been more fully confirmed in the Treaty of 1817, for the suppression of the predatory power of the Pindarries, and 'to destroy and prevent the revival of the predatory system in any part of India ;' Article 1 being for the prosecution of operations against the Pindarries, 'and to adopt the most effectual measures to disperse and prevent them from re-assembling ;' Article 3

being an engagement on His Highness's part never to admit any predatory tribes into his territories, 'or in any manner to give them the smallest countenance or support,' his officers being required, under the severest penalties, 'to employ their utmost efforts to expel or destroy any bodies of plunderers who attempt to take refuge in His Highness's territories;' Article 7 prohibiting any one from 'harbouring or protecting Pindarries or other freebooters;' and Article 9 declaring that the main object of the Treaty was 'to prevent for ever the revival of the predatory system in any form.' If Sindia cordially entered into these measures, it was the intention of the British Government to leave him in all other respects the full benefit of all former Treaties.

"That in respect to this and other States in Central India and Malwa, the subordinate co-operation of the Chiefs in such matters needed not to be secured in expressed terms by any treaty. As stated in my former Report on the establishment of our supremacy in those countries by force of arms, the British Government naturally assumed, by right of conquest, the same jurisdiction which the Peishwa had exercised over them as their lord suzerain, and, therefore, the position also of arbiter of all differences by which the public peace could be disturbed, and of a high judicial functionary, by whose high orders all heinous cases (as of dākāiti, &c.) could be investigated and disposed of, and to whom all sentences of life and death were to be referred. The Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, consequently, occupies this position of Lord High Justiciary in all such matters on the part of the British Government. .

Indore.—"The records of the Central India Agency having been Indore, destroyed during the mutiny, the sketch of our operations in this important State must necessarily be meagre.

"The trial of murders perpetrated in Holkar's dominions was, with the consent of the Maharaja, made over to the British Resident at his Court, subject, however, to revision by the British Government. The earliest report made to the Government of India on the subject of thāg trials is dated 8th September, 1830, on which occasion the Agent to the Governor-General (Mr. Gerald Wellesley) observed, that our thāg operations in other parts of the country, and the examples that had been made of some of the criminals, and were kept hanging over those others who had been admitted as approvers, had been attended with every beneficial effect throughout Malwa. The criminals appeared to feel that they were now well known, and could not reckon on pursuing their avocation of thāggi with the same impunity as heretofore. There was evidence, too, in the documents submitted to Government on the above occasion, that the proceedings taken against thāgs had the effect of generating suspicious, deadly enmities, and divisions among the fraternity, which, by destroying their confidence in one another, had a considerable tendency to break up their associations; and that it became a matter of importance that that impression should not be allowed to weaken through any appearance of leniency, or, as the Resident said, 'of unnecessary leniency in regard to them on our own part.'

"The good effect already procured by the measures adopted against the thag communities was considered highly satisfactory by the Governor-General in Council (letter dated 8th October, 1830), and His Lordship trusted that by the continued zeal and activity of the local British authorities in tracing and bringing to trial and punishment, on conviction, those common pests of society, the association would be completely broken up, and the countries which had been the scene of their atrocities be cleared of them entirely. It was pointed out that to effect this, it would be the duty of the several British functionaries to maintain a frequent correspondence with each other, and to communicate whatever new information they might acquire respecting their plans and rendezvous on the return of the season for their annual excursions.

"Holkar was (July, 1833) addressed in common with other Native Governments in the language used to all, to afford his co-operation to the British Government in the measures of suppression and extermination which were at this period determined upon by the Governor-General in Council. His reply is not on record, but as the operations of the Department have been carried on ever since the above period with varied success throughout his dominions by means of his own parwanas, and with the assistance of accredited agents supplied by his durbar, there can be no doubt of the proposal having been acquiesced in.

"An Assistant was appointed to conduct the duties of the Department at Indore, whose extra allowance of Rs. 200 per mensem was, moreover, borne by Holkar's Government. His Highness also paid his proportion towards the subsistence of thag prisoners, and the cost of the jail, and an old opium godown at Indore, which was no longer required as such, was appropriated for the accommodation of the prisoners of the Department. By the Resolution of the Governor-General, dated 5th November, 1863, his only contribution now is a proportion of the aggregate amount of Rs. 400, which was appointed to be paid by all the States collectively under the Central India Agency.

"The separate Gwalior Agency of the Department was subsequently absorbed in that at Indore, which then was vested with jurisdiction over all the Central India States, and this agency was after the mutiny removed and centred in that at Agra, from where the central agency at Jabalpur, the subsequent operations of the department in Malwa and Bundelkhand used to be carried on. By the Resolution of the Governor-General (8th July, 1863), by which the agencies of the department were withdrawn from British Territory, an Assistant General Superintendent for all the Central India States was once more established at Indore.

"As the head of the great Mahratta confederacy, the Peishwa claimed sovereign rights and power over Holkar's Government, although he was seldom in a position to enforce or to exercise them; and that powerful Chieftain, who always took a pride in acknowledging himself to be an officer of the Peishwa, always yielded to him a nominal alle-

giance. That Minister's supreme authority was always recognised, whether by Holkar or by Sindia, as the first officer of the State, and the supremacy which this conferred devolved on the British Government on the dismemberment of the confederacy by the conquest of the territories of the different chiefs of whom it was composed. The Agent to the Governor-General for the Central India States holds, therefore, the same high judicial powers throughout Holkar's dominions in cases which concerned the public tranquillity and the public welfare, which has already been noticed in case of Sindia's dominions. By the conquest, the territories of which Holkar had been stripped came under the protection of the British Government, to which, in consequence, were transferred the sovereign rights and power which had hitherto been nominally exercised over them by the Peishwa ; and by the treaty which was on this occasion concluded with this Chieftain, a reciprocal engagement was completed between both States—the British Government engaging, on the one hand, not to permit any freebooter to go unpunished who should commit any outrage against the territories of the Maharaja ; His Highness agreeing, on the other, to lend his utmost assistance on such occasions in any manner as might be requisite ; the British Government binding itself at all times to extend the same protection to His Highness's territories as to its own. The right of the British Government to exercise supremacy was, however, more plainly manifested in the case of Holkar in a letter which was addressed to this State on the accession, by selection, of the present Maharaja, when it was declared to have the force of a *Sannad*. This was a document such as used to be issued by the Emperors of Delhi, and subsequently by the Peishwa himself. It implied sovereignty in the donor, and on the delivery of it, the recipient was required to present a *nazzar*, which on this occasion the Maharaja presented accordingly to the British Government. This letter was, moreover, declared to have emanated in reply to one from His Highness, dated 5th July, 1844, applying to be confirmed in the Chieftainship, in which His Highness declared that it would be 'his aim and object so to conduct the duties of his office, as to promote the welfare and happiness of the people of his State.'

" The engagement, moreover, of the British Government not to permit any enemy of the State or freebooter to go unpunished, guaranteed by Article 1 of the Treaty already referred to, was declared to be to maintain the internal tranquillity of His Highness's country, on the condition that the measures of his Government were not, directly or indirectly, the cause of the necessity for its interference. Thus, although by this any continual interference in the internal affairs of the State was considered to be inconsistent with the position of Holkar and the policy of the British Government, its right to interfere in matters affecting the public and mutual interests was, by the foregoing, fully recognised and established. The relation of Holkar with the British Government would not seem to me to be of complete independence ; nor is the Treaty one of equal alliance, but rather of protection

on the part of the British Government and of subordination and obedience on that of the Maharaja.

Bhopal.

Bhopal.—“The records of the Central India Agency generally were destroyed during the mutiny, and the papers obtained by me from the Bhopal Agency, as well as those of my own office, do not contain sufficient information to enable me to give the early history of our operations in that territory.

“I am, however, able to state that all the officers who have held the Political Agency of Bhopal, from the time of Mr. Wilkinson in 1834, to the present period, have freely co-operated with officers of the Thaggi Department with the cordial assent and the fullest assistance of the local Durbar.

“In 1839, Mr. Wilkinson suggested to the General Superintendent, the late Sir William Sleeman, to have an officer of the Thaggi Department stationed at Bhopal, or Indore, to aid in the suppression of the gangs of dakaits located in Malwa, and who were connected by habit and caste with the colonies of Badhaks located on the banks of the Chambal.

“The proposition was submitted by the General Superintendent for the consideration of the Supreme Government, in a letter dated 5th December, 1839, and was acceded to. Captain Riddell was the officer appointed as Assistant General Superintendent in Malwa. But on the 15th January, 1842, the General Superintendent recommended to Government that the Bhopal Agency of the Thaggi Department be transferred to Indore and be merged into the office at that post, and this was acted upon. At this period, the office of Assistant General Superintendent at Indore was held by Lieutenant (now Lieutenant-Colonel) Eden (afterwards Agent to the Governor-General for the Rajputana States). Jurisdiction in Bhopal was accordingly extended (1841) to the Assistant General Superintendent stationed at Indore, and has continued to be exercised by him and by the Assistant at Jabalpur with uniform success; and it has been declared by the Political Agent that the measure was attended with the most beneficial results to the inhabitants of the territory. Bhopal has always, however, been an abiding place for many classes of professional depredators. The Pindarri leaders, for instance, long found a secure retreat in the Bhopal State, and it was chiefly by their help that the Nawabs of Bhopal were able to resist the attacks of Sindia and the Raja of Nagpur for the dismemberment of the State. This arose, however, chiefly from their inability to control those freebooters, and an Engagement of alliance with the British Government was gladly accepted. This Engagement had the validity of a Treaty, and it formed the basis of the Treaty which was subsequently concluded with the Nawab in 1818, when the State was guaranteed.

“The Bhopal authorities were at a subsequent period suspected of screening certain dakaits in that territory, but Captain Cunningham, the Political Agent, assured the General Superintendent that the sus-

picion was perfectly groundless. He observed that doubtless the administration of affairs in Bhopal was not so efficient as in the British provinces, and that landholders and local authorities might still sometimes be able to do improper acts with impunity ; but that the present Regent was exerting herself judiciously and unremittingly to ameliorate this state of affairs, and her rule speedily promised to be one of the most efficient in India. In this she should rather be encouraged by our forbearance and approval than discouraged by our taunts and accusations.

" The General Superintendent most cordially concurred in the opinion expressed by Captain Cunningham, of the anxiety felt by the present Regent of Bhopal to improve the administration, and the judicious and successful efforts she had made, and was making, for that object ; and he was satisfied that the Government of Bhopal was desirous cordially to co-operate in putting down professional robbers. Our own police always tried, as a matter of course, to persuade the Magistrate that all offences within their own borders were committed by offenders who resided beyond theirs, and that none of the offences in the bordering States were committed by any offenders who resided within theirs ; but the General Superintendent found from experience over a wide range, that the difference in this respect was not very great, or, at least, was much less than generally supposed. There is not, perhaps, a district of ours bordering upon a Native State without offenders who depredate in it.

" The Treaty with the Bhopal Government is of alliance and unity of interest. The friends and enemies of either State are to be regarded as such by both.

" Bhopal engaged to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to acknowledge its supremacy ; and the British Government, on the other hand, engaged that its jurisdiction should not, in any manner, be introduced into that principality.

" But as since the conquest the British Government had uniformly, by reason of its succeeding to all the prerogative rights and sovereign powers exercised by the Peishwa over this and other States in Central India, itself exercised some degree of jurisdiction through its several local Political Agents both in Central India and in Rajputana, the Bhopal Government (in 1863) complained of the exercise of such powers as violation of the guarantee above noticed, by which the British Government was not to have any jurisdiction in Bhopal Territory. The Begam claimed the right, under the arrangements made with the Political Agent at her Court in 1847, to try in her own Courts British subjects for offences within her territories, and the surrender of British subjects guilty of such offences apprehended in British territories. The arrangement secured a reciprocity of pursuit and arrest of offenders in either territory. But the right set up by Her Highness was not admitted by Government, on the ground that the principles which underlay the Treaty of 1818 were contained in Article 3, by which the Bhopal Government was to act in subordinate co-operation with the British Government, and to

acknowledge its supremacy, and that the Article (9) on which Her Highness rested her objection, referred to her authority over her own subjects within her own territory, and not to subjects of other States.

"But, however this may be, it has before been explained that on the establishment of the British supremacy in Central India, its Political Officers naturally assumed the position of arbiters in all differences, by which the public peace could be disturbed, and of High Justicaries to whom sentences of life and death were referred, and moreover, inasmuch as the Thaggi Department was concerned, the arrangement of 1847, on which Her Highness raised her objection, expressly stipulated that criminals in heinous offences should be given up. The list which recorded specification of those heinous cases includes the crime of thaggi, dakaity, and giving poison with intent to murder.

Dhar, Dewas,
Jaora, &c.

Dhar, Dewas, Jaora, and the mediatised Chiefs of Western Malwa.—The subordinate co-operation of the first of these States (Dhar) was secured by a Treaty of friendship and unity of interests by which Dhar was taken under British protection, and in respect to the others, their subordinate co-operation was implied in the general tone of the Engagements and Agreements separately entered into with them.

"And in respect to the mediatised Chiefs, who, originally plundering leaders, all more or less owed fealty and tribute to Sindia, Holkar, or to the Puars of Dhar and Dewas, and in some cases to all these powers together, the degree of interference exercised by the British Government in their affairs varied with the nature of the Engagements concluded with each. But notwithstanding the diversity in the terms guaranteed by those Engagements, these feudatory Chiefs may be represented by two classes, namely, those in the administration of whose affairs the interference of their feudal superior in their internal administration was excluded by express terms of the guarantee with them, and those Chiefs whose *sannads* contained no such stipulation. But whatever their respective positions might be when thus defined, they were each dependent on some one Suzerain Chief, whether Sindia, Holkar, Dhar, or Dewas, and therefore the same Treaties and Engagements which bound these their feudal lords to the paramount power of the British Government were equally applicable to their own States. The same may be said of Jaora as a fief of the Holkar State, although really independent of it, and of the protected States of Dhar and Dewas. The right of the British Government to interfere with the internal administration of all these several States, in cases by which the public tranquillity should be disturbed, was uniformly extended everywhere. The fact, moreover, of these petty Chieftains seeking the mediation and the guarantee of the British Government, and of their feudal lords accepting it, was a virtual surrender by the latter (if nothing else was) of the supremacy over them of the British Government. And in respect, moreover, to the guarantees given by the British Government to the mediatised Chiefs, one of the stipulations was, that they must submit all trials for heinous offences and

all sentences of death or transportation for life to the local officers of the British Government.

"The operations of the Thaggi Department have been carried on in these territories with more or less success, and with more or less co-operation according to the degree in which the criminals pursued were sheltered by the subordinate local officers; but there is nothing in the records to show that any serious obstructions were experienced, or any objections raised. The arresting parties were always armed with parwanas from the local Chiefs, and attended by one or more of their officers.

Bundelkhand.—"Bundelkhand was the nursery of thags; they found *Bundelkhand*. asylum in every part of it. It was idle to issue simple injunctions to the Chiefs to assist in their suppression, or not to harbour them, since thags always purchased their release by payment of what they significantly called *thammonee*, or stop-money. The numerous remittances in money and jewels moreover, which used to be made from Surat and Bombay to Central India for the purchase of opium, then extensively grown and exported, used to lead to thaggi by the temptations to plunder them, and the booty lavishly spent in *Bundelkhand* led the numerous Rajas of that wild country to foster the criminals and to protect them. Thaggi operations were, consequently, taken up in *Bundelkhand* at a very early date. The Rajas of Bijawar, and certain other petty Chiefs of the province, openly protected the criminals, and the police and zamindars were notoriously in league with them. Many landholders were ready to pay as much as Rs. 1,000 a head for the release of thags upon their security, and they were interested in preventing their disclosures; but some Rajas responded cheerfully to the call of the British Political officers of the country for their co-operation. Conspicuous among such chiefs were the Rajas of Jhansi and Dattia, of Rewa and Panna. Others, again, would bring up accusations, as the Chiefs of Jhalone, Koti, and Banda, charging the agents of the Department with extortion and other misdeeds under the pretence of pursuing thags in their territories; but the good work of suppression once begun, the Department was not to be deterred by such recriminations. It soon, from its successes, began to be looked upon as the 'Road Police' of the country, and it sometimes went so far as even to enforce surrender of criminals from Chiefs who notoriously protected them. When the Governor-General of India visited the Sagar and Narbadda Territories, and the Rajas of Jhansi, Dattia, and other Chiefs of *Bundelkhand* proceeded to meet him, the Chief of Khairud, a relative of Dattia, in the latter's absence, sheltered several thags and facilitated their escape when hotly pursued by an arresting party of the Department; but the zeal and assistance afforded by the Jhansi Chief led to their eventual seizure. This ruler not only assisted in the seizure of criminals, but he used to endeavour to excite the surrounding Chiefs of *Bundelkhand* to similar exertions, and on this occasion Colonel Sleeman wrote:—

"Could the other Chiefs of the country be induced to forego the pecuniary advantages they now derive from the murders perpetrated by

these wretches, and to co-operate in their prevention as cordially as the Jhansi Chief is now doing, the Supreme Government would soon be able to relieve society from this most dreadful scourge.' It was to the co-operation of the native Chiefs we had mainly to look for the diminution of the evil. The above summary shows the nature of the operations conducted in Bundelkhand and the obstructions or the assistance the Thaggi Department met with. From the comparative propinquity of that province with the agencies of the Department at Jabalpur and Indore, our proceedings were instant, and so well sustained, that every Chief very soon found himself obliged to co-operate, and thag stranglers quickly perceived that there was little safety for them there.

But the country from its many peculiarities, its division of territory, diverse jurisdictions, and wild and jungly nature, continues to be the resort of many lawless people. The predatory had of old always a secure retreat in its many fastnesses and strongholds; dakaits, consequently, like thugs, found good shelter in it: and the officers of the Department have, therefore, continued to pass and repass through these territories in every direction. A notorious gang of poisoners was recently discovered to have long had its head-quarters in the Chattarpur Raja's territory, from where and Banda it used to sally forth on its periodical expeditions, as far as Hardwar and Allahabad, returning with its ill-gotten gains to Bundelkhand in safety from pursuit or detection.

Baghelkhand.

"A part of Bundelkhand is also called Baghelkhand, and Bundelas and Baghelas have always been regarded by their neighbours to be fierce and turbulent. The people are composed of half-bred races of Rajputs and Brahmans sprung from the illicit intercourse of their progenitors with Mahomedans. The majority of the Chiefs of the eastern districts acknowledged the sovereign and paramount rights of the Peishwa over their possessions; and although this authority was little more than nominal, it was nevertheless ceded to the British Government on the extinction of the Peishwa's power. With these Chiefs the British Government entered into Engagements on conditions of their allegiance and fidelity. The Chiefs of Western Bundelkhand, who had not become the subjects of the Peishwa, were admitted by the British Government to Treaties of friendship and alliance.

"The province is composed of three different classes of Chiefships, *viz.*, (1) the lapsed and confiscated States; (2) the States with which the British Government has treaties; and (3) the States held under *sannads*. Of the first of this series it is unnecessary to speak, as they are under British jurisdiction and management, except Bhandere* and others, which were transferred to Sindia, and in which, consequently, the action of the Thaggi Department would be in accordance with the principles by which the Department is guided in its interjurisdictional proceedings in Sindia's territories generally.

"In respect to the States in the next category, Rewa, Tehri, Dattia,

* Bhandere is mentioned as one of the districts transferred to the British Government by Sindia in the Treaty of December, 1860.—G. R. A. M.

THAGGI AND DAKAITI.

and Sampthar, the Treaties with each of these States are of partial extra-
dition. Rewa agreed that robbers issuing from his territories and de-
predating elsewhere would be apprehended and given up, the just and
reasonable requisitions of the British Government connected with its
interests and prosperity be complied with, and its advice conformed with,
and the friends of the British Government should be his friends, and its
enemies his enemies. Tehri would also similarly regard the friends and
enemies of the British Government, and would protect his roads and
passes from the predatory; while Dattia and Sampthar not only engaged
similarly to protect their roads and passes and to regard our enemies as
their enemies, but engaged also not to give asylum to criminals who
should take refuge in their territories, and that the officers of the British
Government should be allowed to pursue them, and every assistance be
given to them in their apprehension. In respect to the States held under
Sannads, the Chiefs of those territories are bound by *Iqrarnamas*, or
deeds of fealty and obedience. A fundamental principle in the arrange-
ments of the British Government in Bundelkhand was conformation in
the possession by them of their ancient territorial rights on conditions of
their allegiance and fidelity to the British power. With some leaders of
plundering bands who were not hereditary Chiefs, the design was to
grant them some territorial acquisition as a permanent means of sub-
sistence by which to restrain them from their evil ways, but to leave
the protection of such territories to the Chiefs themselves. Experience,
however, soon showed the necessity of departing from this principle and
of declaring the Bundelkhand Chiefs to be vassals and dependants of the
British Government. It was not intended to establish our laws and
regulations in these States, and they were, therefore, declared to be ex-
empted from the operation of the jurisdiction of our criminal courts.
But there are clauses in the Engagements with some of the Chiefs which
imply a right of jurisdiction on the part of the British Government, and
such clauses are understood to convey a right of political jurisdiction in
matters of differences and disputes of any kind.

"There are 24 States thus circumstanced, the principal one of which is
Panna. The Raja of this State bound himself not to aid or abet any Panna.
marauders in or out of the province of Bundelkhand, nor to harbour
them; to guard his passes in such a manner as to prevent all plunderers
from entering them this way or that; and to secure the territory of the
British Government from their incursions through such passes; he was
not to permit robbers to reside in any of his villages, and he engaged to
make restitution of the property any such persons should plunder within
his State, and to deliver up offenders; also to arrest and deliver to the
British Government any felon or murderer amenable to the British laws
who should take refuge in his country. This may be said to be the
general tone and purport of the Engagements with all the other Chiefs
comprised under his section of the Native States in Bundelkhand, and it
may, therefore, be considered unnecessary to review in like manner in
this place the particular Engagement with each.

PUBLIC WORKS.

HOLKAR STATE RAILWAY.

General direction of Railway.

The narrow gauge railway, known as the Holkar State Railway, connects the city of Indore with the great trunk line of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway at Khandwa, the principal civil station in the province of Nimar.

Contemplated by G. I. P. Railway Co.

This railway had been for some time contemplated by the Great Indian Peninsula Railway Company, and the country had been surveyed ; but the enormous cost of the works necessary to cross the Narbadda and the Vindhya mountains led to the matter being postponed until the year 1869, when negotiations with the Maharaja Holkar for "the construction of a railway between Indore and some point on the Great Indian Peninsular Line" were entered into. His Highness* proffered a loan of one million sterling to the Government of India on the following terms :—

General terms of convention.

That the loan should be for 101 years ; that it should not be transferable ; that it should stand in the name of the Maharaja Holkar, his heirs, and successors ; that it should be paid to the credit of the Government of India at the Bombay treasury, by instalments as follows :—

25 lakhs in 1870-71.
20 do. in 1871-72.
55 do. in 1872-77.

* Aitchison's Treaties (1876), Vol. III, Central India. Holkar, p. 352, No. CXXIII. The Agreement is not published in full.

By this settlement it was believed that His Highness ^{Payment of the loan.} would be able to meet the loan from surplus revenue without trenching on his reserved treasure. The Government of India, on its part, agreed to pay $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. interest on the loan, and to give the Maharaja half the net profits in excess of $4\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on so much of the entire sum to be advanced as was at the time invested. The line was to be made with all convenient speed ; and the Government of India was to supply all funds requisite for its construction and equipment. The management during construction, and afterwards, was to rest exclusively in the hands of the Government of India.

The following memorandum, recording the terms ^{Memorandum.} of the convention, will be found in Aitchison's Treaties, Engagements, &c. (1876, Vol. III, Central India, *Gwalior* Agency, page 326, No. CXI) :—

MEMORANDUM.

Concessions made by Holkar.

I.—Holkar cedes free of any charge all lands required specially for the railway, its work and stations, provided that no lands within railway limits are taken up by any traders or rent-payers, for the purpose of building shops and carrying on trade to the injury of the interests of the Durbar by the withholding payments of taxes by such parties on the ground of their residing with-

Concessions made by the British Government.

I.—The British Government agree to give up to Holkar all Durbar offenders who, having taken refuge within railway limits, may be found within such limits ; but if such persons shall have passed on and escaped into British territories, their surrender must depend on the circumstances of the case and the pleasure of the British Government.

Mutual concessions between Holkar and British Govt.

in those limits. And provided also, that all buildings, such as godowns, Dharamsalas, &c., erected outside the railway limits shall be entered under Durbar jurisdiction.

II.—Full civil and criminal jurisdiction over the lands required for the railway, its works and bridges, rests entirely with the British Government.

III.—Holkar remits all transit duty on the through traffic of the railway.

II.—Government will not hold the Durbar responsible for offences committed within railway limits, unless those offences are traced to subjects of the Durbar.

III.—Still retaining the right to exercise its discretion in particular cases, Government, as a general rule, will not object to deliver to Holkar, for punishment, Durbar subjects who may have been convicted and sentenced by Government officers for offences committed within railway limits.

Levying royalties on materials used.

Holkar subsequently wished to levy royalties on the materials used for the construction of the railway ; but as the imposition of these was not in accordance with stipulations already concluded, the Government of India disallowed them.

Conclusion of arrangements, and the appointment of engineering staff.

* The railway project having been warmly taken up by Sir Henry Daly, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, the Government concluded the necessary arrangements, and deputed Mr. Crawford Campbell as Superintending Engineer, with a small staff, to carry out the preliminary surveys in the early part of 1870.

The general result of these preliminary investigations was : (1) that a line from Khandwa to Mor-takka, and crossing the Narbadda there to Balwara, was pronounced practicable with no gradient exceed-

Result of preliminary surveys.

* From this point the account of the Holkar State Railway was written by an Engineer who was engaged on the works described.

ing 1 in 100 ; (2) that a line from Balwara to Choral Chauki was practicable (but which was the easiest route as regards the gradient and the least expensive line was not determined) ; (3) that a line from Choral to Mhow with four miles of 1 in 40 near the Mahadeva Kund was practicable, as was also a line with easy gradients thence to Indore *via* Mhow.

The matter having been laid before Government, an increased staff was placed at Mr. Campbell's disposal, and a more thorough investigation of the Ghats ordered for the cold season of 1870-71. The Government insisted on 1 in 100 being the ruling grade between Balwara and Choral, and directed that an endeavour should be made by 'contouring' the Choral valley to obtain a ruling grade of 1 in 100 between Choral and Mhow. A more detailed examination of the other Ghat Passes was also demanded, and alternative lines were run up the Bhai valley, Balam valley, Moti Jain, Ludhia Khal, and other Passes ascending to the table-land. At the same time, a complete detailed survey of the whole Choral valley, from Chaulia village to Balwara, on a scale of 300 feet to the inch, was made, showing minutely every ravine and rill along the hill sides.

The results of the investigations made went to prove that the only reasonable line through the Ghat was the 1-in-40, that the 1-in-100 line from Mhow to Choral was unfeasible, and that the other proposed lines, where not absolutely impracticable, contrasted unfavorably with the 1-in-40 Ghat line. The 1-in-100 line between Choral and Balwara was obtained by a careful contour, which proved the possibility of running right out to one side of one valley, and by a

Decision of
Government
on prelimin-
ary surveys.

Results of
detailed sur-
veys.

Final sanction of Government.

Change of engineers-in-chief and contracts for works concluded.

Divisions of line for construction.

lucky combination of spurs, of re-entering it higher up and skirting down the opposite hill side.

In September, Mr. Campbell put all his detailed plans and sections before Government; and after a short delay, sanction was accorded and tenders called for.

At this time, to the disappointment of the whole staff, Mr. Crawford Campbell was transferred on promotion as Engineer-in-Chief to the Indus Valley State Railway. In his place Mr. Charles Cheyne was appointed, an Engineer of great experience in railways, both in Europe and in Ceylon; and soon after his arrival in November, the tender of Messrs. Hood, Winton, Mills, and Oag was accepted.

For the convenience of construction, the whole line was divided into four sections, namely :—

		Miles.
<i>First Division.</i> —From the Khandwa Station to		
Morgharri, near Mortakka	...	36½
<i>Second Division.</i> —From Morgharri to Balwara,		
including the Narbadda bridge	...	13½
<i>Third Division.</i> —From Balwara to Chaulia, near		
Mhow	...	20
<i>Fourth Division.</i> —From Chaulia, near Mhow, to		
Indore Station	...	15¼
		<hr/> 85¾

First division. The first division runs through, for the first half of its length, a very rough country. Beginning at the Khandwa Station of the Great Indian Peninsula Railway, at an elevation of about 1,000 feet above mean sea level, it starts in a northerly direction, and for three miles runs on a heavy ascending grade. At about the third mile the line crosses a remarkably deceptive nala, now bridged, by 10 spans of 6 metres,

or, say 190 feet of waterway. At first three were considered sufficient; but a heavy flood in 1872 put the question of span beyond all doubt. At the seventh mile is the Ajanti Station, like all the others a most modest and unpretending building,—a mere booking office.

Leaving Ajanti, the line at the eighth mile reaches ~~From Ajanti.~~ its highest point south of the Narbadda at a level of about 1,100 feet above the sea; and from this point it falls steadily down to the Narbadda.

At Deolan, $8\frac{1}{2}$ miles, the line enters a most pictur- Between
Deolan and
Kheri. esque little valley, down which it winds, dashing alternately through steep rock-cuttings, and across rocky little nala beds, till it emerges, at the 12th mile, upon the cultivated land near Sirrari. From here the line runs at right angles across a series of valleys and ridges with some heavy cuttings, till, at $17\frac{1}{2}$ miles, it reaches the Atar Station. Between this and the next Station, Kheri, at the 26th mile, the line runs through a rather rough country, involving many cuttings and high banks, and crosses several important nalas, involving a great deal of bridging. There are three bridges of 1 span of 12 metres, or 40 feet, one bridge of 3 spans of 40 feet, and one bridge of 3 spans of 6 metres, or 20 feet, or altogether about 300 feet of waterway, not including the smaller bridges, which are numerous. In this length a number of rivers cross the line and join the Bakar, which ultimately runs past Sanawad, and which at Kotlakheri, where the 3 spans of 40 feet are, is not half a mile to the west of the line, and runs parallel to it. After the Kheri Station the line runs through cultivated land as far as Sanawad, crossing a few im-

portant nalas; and at the village of Ghosla, only a few hundred yards off the line, is the Bakar, the chief stream in this part of the country. At this point there were several wash-aways, owing to floods: and finally the banks had to be raised and pitched to render them secure. After reaching Sanawad—33rd mile—the line runs up a heavy gradient for a mile, where it enters a rock-cutting 25 feet deep and 2,500 feet long, passing through basaltic columns. From here to Morgharri the line falls rapidly, and at a distance of $36\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Khandwa, enters upon the second division.

Second division.

Narbadda bridge

The second division, beginning at $36\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Khandwa, runs through a deep sand cutting at once on to a high bank, the approach to the southern end of the Narbadda bridge, for the sake of distinction called the 'Holkar Narbadda Bridge.' This magnificent structure consists of 14 spans of 200 feet wrought-iron girders, Warren pattern,—that is, having a single system of triangulation in the web. The top flange carries the railway and the lower flange carries a cart-road, only wide enough to pass one line of carts at a time. The railway is 100 feet above the bed of the river at ordinary low-water level. The range of flood in this river is 66 feet, and the velocity is remarkably high, being 13 miles an hour, the stream rolling down in high waves. In 1875, a 45-feet flood came down, and the wave thrown up against the piers, then finished, was so high as to induce Mr. Cheyne to add 5 feet more to the height of each pier, so that in the event of a 66-feet flood recurring, there would still be some 10 feet clear headway between the girder and the top of the wave against the pier. This bridge



was commenced by Mr. James Ramsay, Executive Engineer, in 1872 ; and in December of that year His Excellency Lord Northbrook, the Viceroy and Governor-General, held a grand Durbar of the Central India chiefs at Barwai, and laid the foundation stone. In February, 1873, Mr. Alexander, Executive Engineer, relieved Mr. Ramsay. He succeeded, by May, 1874, in getting in all the foundations, except the two abutments, and had brought three piers up to their full height, Nos. 12, 13, and No. 2 abutment pier. In October, 1874, Mr. Alexander was relieved by Mr. Izat, Executive Engineer, who, before May, 1875, had completed the superstructure of six water piers, and was ready to begin raising the girders whilst finishing the remaining four and the abutments. Before June, 1876, all the piers had been raised 5 feet to meet the rush of the river in flood, and all the girders spanning water were put in position, and in October, 1876, His Highness the Maharaja Holkar, and Sir Henry Daly, Agent to the Governor-General, formally opened the bridge, His Highness's state-carriage passed over under salutes of cannon and fog-signals, after His Highness had driven in the last rivet, a silver one.

From the Narbadda bridge the line runs on a gradient of 1-in-100 to the base of the hills at Balwara, a distance of 12 miles, and here the second division ends. On this division there is no heavy bridging ; there are only three spans, each of 40 feet, crossing torrents, and four spans of 20 feet ; besides 40 smaller bridges or culverts.

Second division continued.

From Balwara the line rises steadily on a gradient of 1-in-100 through some fine scenery, passing through a few rock-cuttings, and crossing the high

Third division.

road at about the 51st mile. At this point it really looks as if the engine were going to rush madly against the hill side, in which no tunnel appears ; but suddenly it turns away to the left, and about two miles further on, the traveller coming up will see on his right hand what appears to be another line about a quarter of a mile distant and a good deal higher up, while soon, he will again see, on his right, a line a quarter of a mile off and much lower down. This is accounted for by the train having crossed from one side of the valley to the other, and in doing so, having run round a curve forming nearly a complete semi-circle, thus avoiding the danger of a reversing station. The line now runs winding in and out along the hill side to the 55th mile, where it enters a deep and long rock-cutting, emerging from which the engine once more breathes freely, having climbed the Balwara ghat, and runs along a gentle incline into Choral Chauki.

Choral
Chauki.

This small place, which originally came into existence as a mail-cart stage, became a populous settlement in January, 1875, when the line was opened so far for traffic, a temporary tramway having been made across the Narbadda bed, which was passable for eight months of the year. During the rains trains ran on each side, and ferry boats carried all goods and passengers across. Choral thus became a terminus, and the collection of grass huts increased daily till it became quite a prosperous place.

Third division
continued.

Just out of Choral Chauki is a fine bridge (Choral No. 1), consisting of three spans of 100 feet, and about 50. feet above the river ; and alongside this bridge is another of iron, on which the road crosses

the stream. Beyond the former bridge the line passes under the old ghat road, and a mile further on again crosses the road on a level crossing, and from here starts off at right angles to the road, from which it may be seen winding its way through cuttings and along high banks as far as the Ladhia River. Here it enters a deep and long rock-cutting, out of which it emerges to cross the Ladhia bridge, two spans of 100 feet. The next point of interest is the Uteria cliffs, where the line runs along a ledge with the Choral immediately below at a depth of about 50 feet. Passing on through this beautiful valley, the Kalakund Station is reached. Here the ghat engines are attached and detached. Leaving Kalakund (where two engines are always attached to the train, one in front and one behind), the line runs up 1-in-60 for about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles, when the 1-in-40 gradient begins. The first large bridge is Choral No. 2, three spans of 100 feet, after crossing which the line winds round a spur in the valley under the village of Inliapura, and then crosses Choral bridge No. 3, also three spans of 100 feet. The river now lies to the left of the ascending line, which hugs the right hand or northern side of the valley. Passing through a cutting it now enters a small deep defile, whence it emerges by a tunnel, and the passenger finds himself being carried on a ledge under a sheer scarp with the Choral far below him. The next bridge here is No. 1 Viaduct, a magnificent work, two spans of 120 feet, over a deep ravine. There being no parapets, it appears as if it would take but little to throw the train into the abyss below. Next comes No. 2 Tunnel, which long re-

Kalakund.

mained the key of the line. Time after time the sides slipped, and the workmen were repeatedly buried for hours between the masses of soft rock that blocked up entrance and exit, till at last it became evident that the only thing to be done was to cut out at once the treacherous rock through which the tunnel was being pierced, and having built in the linings, refill a cushion of earth over the crown. In December, 1877, this was accomplished, and the last stone laid in its place ; and on the 1st of January the ghat division was opened and trains ran through from Khandwa to Mhow. After passing No. 2 Tunnel, the line crosses No. 2 Viaduct, a fine work of three spans of 120 feet, 150 feet high from the bed of the ravine to the rail level, and then turns sharply out of the Choral valley and runs up the valley of a tributary stream for a distance of about a mile, passing through two tunnels, Nos. 3 and 4. From here a magnificent view of the Mahadeva Kund water-fall on the left may be had. The line leaving the Mahadeva Kund, or Patal Pani telegraph station, runs up the test incline, a half mile of 1-in-40, used, in descending, to test the breaks, and to find out whether the train is thoroughly under control before venturing on the ghat. At a point two miles further on, a 70-feet iron girder is crossed near Goraria, and at the 73rd mile Mhow is reached, the line having risen about 1,300 feet from the Narbadda in a distance of 35 miles. Leaving Mhow, the line crosses the Sartier, five spans of 60 feet, and then rises steadily till it reaches Rao, at the 79th mile, near which station the actual summit of the line is reached at a level of 1,900 feet above mean sea level. From here there is a descent to Indore,

where substantial station-buildings have been erected (close to His Highness the Maharaja Holkar's cotton mills, and at a distance of 86 miles from Khandwa) which the train enters after crossing the Garbarri and Khan Rivers.

The construction of this line of railway, as has been already mentioned, was entrusted by Government to Messrs. Hood, Winton, Mills, and Oag, by whom the first division was completed ; but when it was found that the other works had been scarcely touched in December, 1873, Government decided on relieving them of their contract, and from that date the construction of the line has been steadily pushed on departmentally by the Government Engineers on a combined system of petty contract and daily labour. The carrying out of this remarkably difficult railway has been from the commencement a work requiring great organization and forethought. When it was first started, labour was both scarce and dear, and the contractors' arrangements at the Gatta quarry, from whence the Narbadda bridge material had to come, fell through, and sanction was accorded to laying a tramway. It was not until the contractors left that any progress was made in this quarry, but soon afterwards the out-turn began to grow month by month, and from 3,000 cubic feet per mensem reached 35,000 cubic feet per mensem of truly squared and dressed stone.

The third division was no better off for materials, for in the whole of its length it had no good quarry capable of producing anything but rubble, neither could good lime be procured, except from a great distance ; so in 1874 a line, 20 miles long, was laid on

temporary jungle-wood sleepers from Gwalu, two miles south of Choral Chauki to Katkut, where a fine red sandstone was found, and where quarries had already been opened out. This line also passed through Barjara, where a magnificent lime was obtained. Both those places are on the southern face of the Vindhya range and to the eastward of the Choral River, which the line crossed on a temporary bridge. From these quarries came all the materials for the great works on the ghats, and over this length trains worked in sections all day long, each engine having its own beat to run over. But for the accident to the No. 2 Tunnel the line might have been opened in June, 1877. The total cost of the line may be estimated at one million and a quarter sterling.

Engineers.

The Engineers employed on these works have been—

MR. CHARLES CHEYNE, *Engineer-in-Chief.*

First Division.

MR. HORACE BELL, *Executive Engineer.*

MR. FLOYD, *Executive Engineer.*

MR. GILCHRIST, *Assistant Engineer.*

MR. JOHNSTONE, *Assistant Engineer.*

LIEUT. GREGSON, R.E., *Assistant Engineer.*

Second Division.

MR. STANLEY ALEXANDER, *Executive Engineer.*

MR. ALEXANDER IZAT, *Executive Engineer.*

MR. MOORE, *Assistant Engineer.*

MR. GILCHRIST, *Assistant Engineer.*

Third Division.

MR. CREGEEN, *Executive Engineer.*

MR. SWAPPE, *Assistant Engineer.*

MR. FLOYD, *Assistant Engineer.*

MR. W. A. BELL, *Assistant Engineer.*

LIEUT. JOHNSTONE, R.E., *Assistant Engineer.*

LIEUT. HASSARD, *Assistant Engineer.*

Fourth Division.

MR. STANLEY ALEXANDER, *Executive Engineer.*

MR. CREGEEN, *Executive Engineer.*

MR. EDWARD JOHNSTONE, *Executive Engineer.*

LIEUT. BALFE, B.S.C., *Assistant Engineer.*

LIEUT. JOHNSTONE, R.E., *Assistant Engineer.*

THE NIMACH STATE RAILWAY.

THE Nimach State Railway already connects Indore with the ancient city of Ujjain on the Kshipra line, and with the great opium mart of Ratlam. The line bifurcates at Fattehabad, a branch running north-east to Ujjain ; and the main line proceeding westward to Barnagar, or Nolai ; and thence, in a more northerly direction, through Ratlam towards Nimach. At some future date the line will be extended to Nasirabad, where it will articulate with the Rajputana State Railway, and open up a new line of communication between Northern India on the one hand, and Central and Western India on the other.

The line runs through a flat and treeless plain, Scenery. where corn and millet fields alternate with great tracts of pasture land. Low flat-topped hills, sometimes crowned with an old fortress, break the horizon ; and every mile or two a village, straggling over a little piece of rising ground and nestling in old trees, relieves the monotony of the scene. Save for this, nothing can be more dreary and uninteresting than the landscape.

From Indore to Fattehabad, a distance of about 25 miles, the line takes a tortuous course, following generally the watershed. It crosses the Khan River on a bridge of 7 spans of 12 metre ; and this is followed

From Indore to Fattehabad.

by a number of smaller works over nalas. The quarry of Deo Guraria,* connected with the main line by a tramway, supplied the stone required for this portion of the line.

Line opened
to Ujjain.

On the 24th of July, 1876, a train ran from Indore to Ujjain, crossing all the bridges for the first time. On the following day the inspection of the line, previous to the opening it for traffic, was made by the Consulting Engineer to the Government of Bombay. All was ready for traffic by the 31st of July ; and passenger trains commenced running regularly from the 3rd of August.

Fattehabad
to Barnagar

Between Fattehabad and Barnagar the railway crosses the upper waters of the Chambal and its tributaries on a series of magnificent bridges :—

Bridges.

The Gambhir River, 3 spans of 150 feet.

The Chambal River, 3 spans of 150 feet.

The Chambla River, 2 spans of 188 feet.

In addition to these great works there are the following smaller bridges :—

The Fattehabad nala, 1 span, 25 metre.

The Usra nala, 2 spans, 12 metre.

The Barnagar nala, 3 spans, 12 metre.

Beyond Barnagar are :

The Tokra nala, 4 spans, 12 metre.

The Pitloda nala, 3 spans, 12 metre.

The Ratlam nala, 1 span, 12 metre.

* The quarry of Benakia, five miles north-west of Ujjain, was first selected (February, 1875), but after a series of experiments was abandoned. In the year 1876-77 the out-turn at Deo Guraria was as follows :—

			Cubic feet
Stone, 1st class,	...	...	12,000
," 2nd "	...	...	118,000 .
," 3rd ..	...	...	95,000

This portion of the line was supplied with stone from the large quarry at Bardia. A tramway, $6\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length with $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles of siding, connected it with Runijia on the main line. About 3,000 workmen were employed, and the average monthly outturn of stone for masonry amounted to some 30,000 cubic feet.

The line was opened for traffic to Ratlam in July 1878. Line opened to Ratlam.

The surveys of the extension of the line from Ratlam to Nimach were completed before the rains of 1876, and the project of the line was matured and submitted in January, 1877. Early in 1879 the line will be opened as far as Jaora for traffic.

This railway was begun under the direction of Mr. Miller, an American Engineer, who was believed to have had some experience in the construction of light railways. It was subsequently handed over to Mr. Charles Cheyne ; and is now being pushed forward by Mr. Horace Bell.

The following Executive and Assistant Engineers were employed on that part of the line which is now completed :— Messrs. Cockburn, Walker, Swappe, Gilchrist, Davis, Addis, Bell, Dangerfield, Beeston, Landon, Sullivan, and Michell.

THE BHOPAL RAILWAY.

A line of railway from Ujjain to Bhopal is under consideration. The Maharaja Sindia and the Nawab Shah Jehan Begam have come forward with considerable loans for its construction.

THE SINDIA STATE RAILWAY.

The Sindia
State Rail-
way.

This line of railway was commenced in 1875. The present project* assumes the line to commence at the Agra cantonment station of the Rajputana State Railway, the broad gauge being carried down by that line to the Fort station. Passing the stations of Kathaoli, Syean, and Mania, Dholpur is reached at a point $34\frac{1}{2}$ miles from the Agra cantonments, the line running pretty fairly due south, and being of a light character. Between Agra and Dholpur the line crosses the Khari river at $9\frac{1}{2}$ miles on a girder-bridge upon well foundations of three spans of 100 feet. At $19\frac{3}{4}$ miles, the Bhanganga river is crossed by a girder-bridge of similar construction, having four spans of 100 feet. Immediately on leaving Dholpur station, the line curves off to the east through heavy ravines

The Chambal
Bridge.

This will be about three miles below the point where the road now crosses. The bridge when completed will be one of the most remarkable railway structures in India. It will consist of twelve spans of 200 feet, from centre to centre of the piers, flanked at each end by two land spans of 150 feet. The piers will be 108 feet high above low-water level to the under side of the girders, and they will each rest on a pair of very large masonry wells, 26 feet 4 inches, outside diameter, sunk about 65 feet below low-water. The total length of the bridge, over abutments, will be 2,714 feet, or rather more than half a mile ; and the greatest height of the bridge, that is from the bed of the cold-weather channel to the top of the girders,

will be 145 feet. The rise of the greatest recorded flood in the Chambal is 97 feet, and the maximum surface velocity is then calculated to be 8.35 feet per second, or, say, $5\frac{1}{2}$ miles per hour. The estimated cost of the bridge is Rs. 29,27,720. The piers will be built of solid blocking course masonry of hard sandstone. The wells will be carried down about 40 feet into strong reddish clay, and will be solidified with concrete. After crossing the Chambal the line ^{Beyond the Chambal.} runs through deep ravines to the westward again, keeping somewhat near (about a mile) from the trunk road. Passing the stations of Banda, Shikarpur, Bamur, and the Morar troop station, it reaches the terminal station lying between the Morar cantonment and Gwalior, at a distance of $75\frac{1}{2}$ miles from Agra cantonment station. Between the Chambal and Gwalior, the line crosses the Koari, Assan, and Sank Rivers on girder-bridges of three, four, and three spans of 100 feet, respectively. The estimated cost of the ^{Cost.} Sindia State Railway is about Rs. 1,18,770 per mile.

By the engagement entered into with Messrs. ^{Completion.} Glover and Co., contractors for the line, it is to be completed by the end of October, 1880.

The works have been successively under the super- ^{Engineers.} intendance of Colonels Meade and Bonus, and Mr. Bell. Messrs. LaTouche and Rennie, Executive Engineers; and Lieutenant Barlow and Messrs. Duns, Reynolds, and Michell, Assistant Engineers, have been employed on the line.

APPENDIX.

Rules for the working of the Central India State Railway Police.*

(1.) The Superintendent shall make all enlistments in the force. First enlistment shall be provisional, and for a period not exceeding six months.

Nominations and promotions to grades above that of Head Constable shall be made by the Superintendent, subject to the approval of the Inspector-General.

(2.) The Superintendent may promote, degrade, fine, or dismiss any member of the force. An appeal against any such orders may be made to the Agent to the Governor-General whose orders shall be final. No Constable or Head Constable shall be fined at one time and for one offence more than one month's pay, unless the fine be imposed on account of injury to Government property in his charge and caused or allowed by his neglect.

(3.) Good conduct stripes may be granted to Constables and Head Constables by the Superintendent for special good conduct, or resuoned by him for subsequent bad conduct. They shall be worn on the right wrist. Two such stripes will entitle a Constable to an extra allowance of Rupee 1 per mensem over and above the pay of his grade. On p motion to Head Constableship he may retain his stripes, but the allowan will cease. Head Constables will not be entitled to an allowance in an case.

(4.) The uniform of the State Railway Police shall be such as the Inspector-General may from time to time direct to be worn.

(5.) One-third of the Constables of the Railway Police are to be armed with muskets and bayonets and well drilled in the use of their weapons. The whole force is to be provided with batons, and Head Constables and Officers with swords. Constables on sentry duty at Railway Stations will carry a baton. Constables on night sentry duty elsewhere than at Railway Stations, or on sentry duty by day at the Quarter-guard, are to be armed with loaded and capped muskets with bayonets fixed. All fire-arms not in actual use as above directed are to be kept in a locked rack, the key of which shall remain with the officer of the guard.

(6.) Every man who is unable to take his turn of duty from sickness may, if the illness last more than 24 hours, be sent to the Railway Hospital, if there is one, and if there is accommodation in it. No man sent into Hospital shall leave the Hospital without the permission of the

* Originally drawn up for the Rajputana State Railway Police.

Medical Officer in charge. Certificates of reception and discharge of Police patients shall be furnished to the Superintendent by the Medical Officer. Malingering will be severely punished.

(7.) Every Constable in the force shall be instructed in drill, and no Constable shall be promoted to a Head Constableship until he passes satisfactorily in this subject.

(8.) A school will be opened at head-quarters, and the men of the reserve will be obliged to attend it at such hours as the Superintendent may direct. In making promotions great importance will be attached to the ability to read and write.

(9.) The Superintendent is directly subordinate in all matters connected with the enrolment, organization, discipline, punishment, and dismissal of the men of the force to the Inspector-General; and in all matters connected with Railway traffic, arrangement of station duties of Police, and investigation into the causes of accidents to the Railway Manager.

In all other matters [except such as relate to offences against the ordinary criminal law or to Police laws and rules] the Police are subordinate to the Railway officers in the same way as the direct servants of the Railway of the same class are, and must in all such cases take their instruction from the responsible officers of the Railway.

(10.) A portion of the force will be allocated from time to time for the purposes of law and order, and no change will be made in this allocation without the consent of the Agent to the Governor-General. The remainder of the force will be distributed under the orders of the Manager of the Railway.

(11.) The duties of the Inspector at head-quarters shall be as follows:—He is responsible for the drill, discipline, cleanliness, and instruction of the men; for the cleanliness and good order of their quarters and weapons; for the proper custody of the magazine and all weapons, ammunition, tents, and other stores and furniture at head-quarters.

As occasion may arise he will be sent up and down the line on duty, or specially deputed to prosecute cases in the proper courts.

(12.) The Travelling Inspector will exercise a general supervision over the Police on duty on the line, and will investigate all cases that may come to his notice, and report thereon to the Superintendent. The distribution of the monthly pay will ordinarily be made by him.

(13.) Sub-Inspectors in charge of divisions will exercise the same supervision over their own divisions that the Travelling Inspector will exercise over the whole of the line. Their supervision must be, however, much more minute; and no details, however trifling, of the organization of the Station Police should escape their notice; their reports should ordinarily be made to the Travelling Inspector, but in matters of moment they may, at discretion to save time, make their reports direct to the Superintendent. The Sub-Inspector on the occurrence of any accident or crime will proceed immediately to the spot and institute an enquiry forthwith, summoning his Inspector by telegraph, and inform-

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ing the Superintendent if he consider the case to be one of sufficiently serious complexion. He is directly responsible for the proper maintenance of the station registers, for the cleanliness of the men, their uniform, quarters, and weapons.

(14.) Officers in charge at stations will generally be Head Constables. They are in command of the Constables under their charge. They are responsible for the station registers and for the cleanliness and good order of the quarters, of the uniform, and of the weapons of the men. Where the station letter boxes are placed in their charge, they are directed to see that the boxes are cleared at the proper hours. All goods tendered and received by the Traffic Department for transit are under their watch and ward, and they are expected to be vigilant for the protection of goods tendered for transit, but not yet received by the Traffic Department. They will see that all proclamations, Police notices, &c., are properly pasted on the notice board provided for the purpose, which will be placed by the Railway authorities in some prominent position within the Railway Stations. No animals are to be allowed to remain in the men's quarters; no strangers may sleep there at night; and all gambling, cock-fighting, ram-fighting, &c., are strictly prohibited. The Head Constable in charge of a sub-division shall visit as often as convenient the outposts in his charge, and impress on the men at outposts the necessity for reporting to him all matters of importance, or of an extraordinary nature that come to their notice. On the occasion of the occurrence of any crime he should proceed to investigate it and to act upon his investigation according to the law. ~~He is~~ bound to obey the orders of the Station Master. If he consider that an order is improper, he shall demand that it be put in writing, and this being done shall execute it forthwith. If the order is actually illegal, he is not bound to carry it out. Offences against the Railway or Telegraph Acts are prosecuted by the order of the Railway authorities. If the Head Constable be ordered in writing by any Station Master, or verbally by a superior officer of the Railway or Telegraph Department, to arrest a person charged with any such offences, he will carry out such order forthwith.

(15.) Officers in charge at stations are directed in all cases of a serious or intricate character to make a reference by telegraph or otherwise to their nearest superior officer, and in important cases to the Superintendent also; but they are not bound to delay their action till his arrival.

(16.) When an officer in charge at a station, or any superior officer, after investigation of a case, considers that there is sufficient *prima facie* evidence to justify him in sending it for trial, and the case is one by law cognizable by the Police, he shall telegraph to head-quarters for instructions as to what court he should forward the case to. An Inspector, if present, may decide this question on his own responsibility.

(17.) There is no Court-Inspector for the Railway Police; officers will be deputed by the Superintendent to prosecute cases in the courts which have the trial of them.

(18.) Reports of serious accidents or of serious crimes are to be made immediately by the Station Police to (1) the Superintendent, (2) the Political Agent of the State, or to the Magistrate of the District, if the accident occurs or the crime is committed on a portion of the line in British territory. After full investigation detailed reports will be made by the Superintendent to (1) the Chief Manager of the Railway, (2) the Political Agent of the State, or Magistrate of the District, as the case may be, and if the crime or accident be of extraordinary nature, (3) to the Agent to the Governor-General and also to the Central Provinces Government if the occurrence took place on a portion of the line within jurisdiction.

(19.) In the event of a serious accident occurring, by which the passage of traffic is rendered impossible or dangerous, the command of that portion of the line will be taken by the Executive Engineer, or such other officer as may be deputed by the Manager of the Railway. Under those circumstances the Police stationed on that part of the line will be at the disposal of that officer, and carry out his orders without question or delay.

(20.) All loading contractors, coolies, porters, licensed vendors at stations not directly servants of the Railway, but allowed by the Traffic Department to work or exercise any calling on the Railway premises, must be duly registered by the Police, and will be under their constant supervision.

(21.) The Station Police are responsible for the watch and ward of goods received for transit.

(22.) If a Railway servant is charged with the commission of a *bailable* offence for which the Police may arrest without a warrant, such arrest must not be made except under written authority from the Station Master or other superior officer of the Railway. If necessary, instructions should be telegraphed for, and in the meantime proper precautions should be taken to prevent the escape of the person charged. If a Railway servant be charged with the commission of a *non-bailable* offence, the arrest must be made, and the fact communicated at once to the Station Master or other superior Railway officer whose instructions should then be awaited.

(23.) There shall be at least one lock-up at every divisional headquarters with separate compartments for men and women.

(24.) The Railway Police shall be bound to bring to the notice of the Railway authorities all breaches of the Railway bye-laws.

(25.) All prisoners arrested by the Police shall be searched as soon as possible, and all articles, not actually clothing, taken from them recorded in the diary and consigned to the officer in whose charge the prisoners are. If such prisoners be unable or unwilling to support themselves while in custody, the officer in charge of the station shall provide them with diet at the rate of one anna per diem. This rate is subject to modification by the Superintendent in times of scarcity, the bill for the amount shall be forwarded to the Superintendent's Office with the prisoner; no

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unnecessary harshness shall be used. Prisoners shall be handcuffed when the offence is a grave one, or when apprehensions are entertained that he will attempt to escape. In such cases he should be handcuffed with his hands behind his back.

(26.) The Superintendent will proceed in person to the spot where any serious accidents have occurred. If that spot be in Native territory, he will make a Magisterial enquiry into the causes of the accident; if in British territory, merely a summary Police enquiry.

(27.) Should the Railway Manager call upon the Superintendent to act in a way which he considers illegal or inconsistent with his duty as an officer of Police, the question shall be referred to the Agent to the Governor-General for his decision.

(28.) The circular orders of the Superintendent shall remain in force until cancelled.

(29.) The rules as to guards and escorts in the North-Western Provinces and the Punjab shall be applicable to the State Railway Police.

(30.) If offenders having committed an offence cognizable by the Police within the Railway jurisdiction escape out of such jurisdiction, the Railway Police may follow them and arrest them in "hot pursuit," provided the offence committed be a non-bailable offence. In all cases of escape the aid of the Railway Police shall invariably be requested, and information of the escape and arrest be sent immediately to the Political Agent.

The Railway Police shall not enter any house or premises out of their jurisdiction to make any search or arrest, but they shall call on the local Police to do so.

(31.) All general rules and regulations affecting discipline, organization and general Police procedure equally apply where the line runs through British territory. When an offence punishable by the general laws of the country is committed within Railway limits in British territory, the Railway Police will send the offender with the charge-sheet to the nearest Magistrate having jurisdiction. The Superintendent at his discretion may depute specially one of his own officers on such duty, or may attend himself in person. Reports of all crimes committed on the Railway will be made to the Magistrate of the District. If any subordinate Railway Police officer be deputed to the spot by his Superintendent, he shall obey the directions of the District Superintendent. All accidents on the line by which life is lost or endangered shall be reported by the Station Police to the Magistrate of the District, as well as to their own Superintendent.

(32.) The following registers, records, returns, diaries, &c., shall be kept by the Railway Police:—

English Registers in Head-quarters Office.

1. Long nominal roll.
2. Registers of good and bad conduct of every member of the force.
3. Cash book.

4. Register of pay bills (Office copy).
5. Register of contingent bills.
6. Clothing account book.
7. General Police Fund account.
8. English diary of Superintendent.
9. English order book.
10. Register of letters received and despatched.
11. List of books in Office.
12. Stationery stock book.

Vernacular Registers, Head Office.

1. Vernacular order book.
2. Present state (weekly).
3. Register of criminal cases instituted, forwarded and decided in Courts of Superintendent, or of Political Agent, showing arrests and convictions and amount of property stolen and recovered by Police, &c.
4. Kabz-ul-Nasul (pay receipts).
5. Register of badmashes.
6. Register of escaped offenders.
7. Register of prisoners convicted.
8. List of fairs and pilgrimages.

Returns.

1. Special reports of extraordinary accidents or crimes to Agent to the Governor-General.
2. Reports of accident to Chief Manager and Political Agent.
3. Monthly present state to Agent to the Governor-General.

Register (by Reserve Inspector).

1. Store book.
2. Present state (weekly).
3. Report of conduct, discipline, &c.

By Travelling Inspector.

1. Diary.

By Officers in charge of Stations.

1. Daily diary.
2. Special diary.
3. Check book of complaints made.
4. Present state (weekly).
5. Register of badmashes and escaped offenders.
6. Order book for entry of Superintendent's circular orders.

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Subsidiary Rules.

If the Railway Manager and Superintendent of Police differ as to any matter, and the question cannot be settled without reference to higher authority, it will be the duty of the Manager to submit a Report on the case for the consideration of the Director of State Railways. The Director will then consult the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, and if both are agreed, orders will be issued either by the Director or by the Agent to the Governor-General, according as the subject under consideration may fall within the province of the Executive, or of the Railway administration.

If, however, the Director and the Agent to the Governor-General are unable to agree, the case should be submitted for final decision by the Agent to the Governor-General—

(1) To the Public Works Department of the Government of India, if the question is one appertaining to the affairs of the Railway.

(2) To the Foreign Department, if the question appertains to the Executive.

ROADS IN CENTRAL INDIA.*

THERE are three main lines of communication in Central India :—

One of these, the Bombay and Agra road, traverses the central portion of the agency, in a north-easterly direction, for a distance of 458 miles—from the Sindwa jungles in the south on the borders of Khandaish, to the northern boundary of the Dholpur State, a few miles south of Agra.

Another connects the G. I. P. Railway at the Khandwa station with the Rajputana State Railway at Nasirabad ; its general direction being a little east of north from Khandwa, and the distance between the latter place and Nasirabad being about 375 miles ; of which, however, only about 208 miles, from the Narbadda river on the south, to the Tonk Boundary north of Nimach, lie within the Central India agency.

The third runs through the Bundelkhand and Bawali States, from Gwalior and Morar, to the Jabbalpur and Mirzapur road, at Bela, about nine miles south-west of the city of Rewa, a distance of about 234 miles ; the general direction being south-east.

These three main arteries were commenced as first class roads, to be bridged and metalled throughout; but famines and other emergent necessities have, from time to time, swallowed up the funds which it was intended to devote to these works ; and the result is that only the smaller bridges and culverts have

Three main lines of communication in Central India.

Gwalior and Bela.

Roads incomplete.

* I am indebted to Major Gibbs, B. S. C., Executive Engineer, for these notes on the Roads of Central India.

been constructed. The roads have been, however, metalled almost throughout their entire length ; and though traffic is at times prevented during floods from crossing the larger streams for three or four days together, these delays do not much affect it.

Bombay and Agra road. The Bombay and Agra road was at one time an important means of communication between the Bombay Presidency and the North-Western Provinces ; but the opening of the G. I. P. Railway to Khandwa, the nearest railway-station on that line to Indore, diminished the importance of the southern portion very considerably ; and when the G. I. P. Railway had joined the E. I. Railway at Jabbalpur, the mail-carts ceased running between Indore and Gwalior, and only an occasional string of carts passed over the road. Crossing the Khandeish boundary at Boregarh in the Satpura range, it passes into the Narbadda Valley, through the Sindwa jungles—crosses the Narbadda by a bridge-of-boats, or ferry, at the Khal ghât, a few miles below the city of Mahesar, and the deserted cantonments of Mandlesar—then climbs the Vindhya up the picturesque Manpur Pass below the ruins of Mandu, and so getting on to the table-land of Central India, passes through Mhow, Indore, Dewas, Guna, Sipri, close to Gwalior and Dholpur, crossing the Chambal above the railway bridge now in course of construction, and thence to Agra.

Khandwa and Nasirabad road.

The Khandwa and Nasirabad road crosses the Bombay and Agra Road at Mhow. From Dewas, a branch, 23 miles long, runs to the slowly reviving city of Ujjain, which is now the terminus of a branch of the Holkar and Nimach State Railway.

Eastward from Dewas a road is being constructed towards Bhopal.

From Sipri there is a direct road to Jhansi, which, however, is still incomplete.

In the neighbourhood of Gwalior and Morar, several loop lines facilitate traffic.

Forty miles north of Khandwa the Nasirabad road ^{Khandwa and Nasirabad road.} crosses the Narbadda by the splendid railway-bridge, a few miles below the holy shrine of Omkarji ; and after passing the Barwai Ironworks (closed for several years past, but which, when coal shall be more easily procurable, may yet prove a source of wealth to Holkar) ascends the Vindhya range by the Semrôl ghats (from the summit of which a branch runs to Indore) ; passes through Mhow, whence it follows a line almost parallel to, and within a few miles of, the watershed of the Mahi and Chambal rivers, to the cities of Ratlam, Jaora, Mandsaur, and the cantonments of Nimach ; and thence, under the old fortress of Chittôr-garh, it passes on to the red patch of British territory, the Ajmere district,—an island in the sea of the Native States of Central India and Rajputana,—where it first meets the State Railway at Nasirabad.

The Holkar and Nimach State Railway is following ^{Nimach State Railway.} it up closely, having been already opened to Ratlam, and to judge from the effect on the road traffic already caused in the southern portions by the railway, it will hereafter be of little use to the public, except as a feeder to the railway. It will, however, always be of use as a military road, should necessity arise; since railroads are more easily rendered impassable than roads.

The Chiefs of the Native States through which it ^{Chiefs' contribution.} runs have agreed to pay four-fifths of the cost ;

excepting Holkar, who has contented himself with making a branch from Indore to Ghatta Ballôd, on the Chambal, 18 miles north of Mhow. Three miles farther on a branch runs to Dhar, constructed at the expense of that State.

Gwalior and
Rewa road.

The Gwalior and Rewa road passes by Morar, Dattia, Jhansi, Nowgong, and Chattarpur ; and soon after, crossing the Ken river, ascends the Panna ghats, then passing Panna and the recently deserted cantonment of Nagode, crosses the Jabbalpur line of railway at Satna, and terminates in the grand trunk road near Bela, nine miles from Rewa. From Jhansi, 50 miles of the road, to Kalpi, run through Central India.

From Jhansi
to Kalpi.

The Banda and Sagar road crosses the Gwalior and Rewa road at Chattarpur, but nearly half of the 61 miles passing through Native States is still unfinished. The Nowgong and Banda road joins the above near Srinagar.

From Nagode
to Banda.

From Nagode to Banda, past the fort of Kalinjar, a road is under construction ; but the works make but little progress, as funds at present are better utilized elsewhere : and it is of the less importance, as Nagode has recently been abandoned as a military cantonment.

Smaller
roads.

In addition to the three imperial lines of communication, and the smaller ones already mentioned, other roads have been or are being constructed, from contributions given for the purpose by the Native States concerned, aided in some cases by local funds.

Gwalior and
Chambal.

Sindia, being anxious to connect his capital with the E. I. Railway at Etawa, is providing money for that

purpose; and the 60 miles between Gwalior and the Chambal river near Bhind are making fair progress.

Sindia and Holkar are also contributing towards Ujjain and Agar. the cost of connecting Ujjain and Agar by a road, 40 miles long; the earthwork of which is completed.

The Bhopal Durbar, besides making a road westward towards Ashta and Dewas, has undertaken the construction of one to the Narbadda, opposite Hoshangabad, to connect the capital with the G. I. P. Railway at Etarsi.

Pecuniary difficulties have very considerably delayed the opening out of Central India by means of roads. When first projected it was intended to allot sufficient funds for the Mhow and Nasirabad road to complete it in four or five years. Although fairly commenced in 1867 and 1868, it is still far from complete, imperial funds having been diverted to other provinces for famines, &c. The work on this and the other roads is now being carried out, on the principle of attending first to the worst parts of the line. Thus there are breaks, both in the bridging and metalling, and, with the present small allotments, years must pass before they can be attended to.

Contributions by Native States as actually realised and spent on Roads in Central India up to 31st March, 1878, including probable Receipts and Expenditure during the current year ending 31st March, 1879. (Prepared for this work).

No.	Name and Rd. No.	Length of Road.	Sindia.	Holkar.	Dhar.	Rewa.	Dewas.	Ratlam.	Jaura.	Total.
		M. Fur. Feet.								
1	Mhow and Nimach Road	... 139 5 338	....	25,000	1,50,000	.....	.....	62,500	59,637	2,97,187
	Chambal Bridge	... ....	....	50,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	50,000
2	Gwalior and Jhansi Road	... 62 0 276	8,40,021	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	8,40,021
3	Gwalior and Etawa Road	... 59 4 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
4	Jhansi and Sipri Road	... 59 6 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
5	Phulbagh, Morar & Fortress Roads...	6 1 640	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....
6	Dewas and Ujjain Road	... 22 7 540	73,639	.....	.....	.....	31,526	.....	.....	1,05,165
7	Dewas and Ashta Road	... 25 2 0	.....	.....	.....	.....	20,000	.....	.....	20,000
8	Ujjain and Agar Road	... 40 0 0	40,000	30,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	70,000
9	Satna and Bela Road.	... 23 0 0	.....	.....	.....	1,50,000	.....	.....	.....	1,50,000
10	Dhar Branch Road	... 11 7 436	.....	.....	80,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	80,000
11	Dak Bunglow at Dhar	... ....	.....	3,000	.....	.....	.....	.....	.....	3,000
	TOTAL	... ....	9,53,660	55,000	2,83,000	1,50,000	51,526	62,500	59,637	16,15,373

NOTE.—Regular annual contributions are paid only by the Maharaja Sindis and the Maharaja of Dhar. The former gives annually Rs 63,000 for original works on Roads in his territory, and Rs 12,000 for repairs of the Agra and Bounbey Road; and the latter gives annually Rs. 4,000 for the maintenance of the Dhar Branch Road from Ghata Ballode to Dhar.

(Sd.)

A. CADELL, Colonel, R.E.,

Chief Engineer for Central India.

TELEGRAPHHS.

THE erection of the Telegraph line along the trunk road from Agra to Bombay was the first step taken towards bringing Central India into direct communication by wire with the other parts of the Empire. Like most of the great main lines erected at that time, it owed its construction as much to grounds of political as of commercial necessity, and was destined not many years afterwards to do good service, when, at the close of the Indian mutiny, Sir Hugh Rose's column was engaged in the pursuit of the rebel Tantia Topi. The line was erected in 1853 in a more substantial manner than usual at that date, with iron standards and a wire of No. 1, B. W. G.; but the entire insulation depended on the wooden top-piece on which the wire rested, and interruptions were both frequent and protracted. In 1854 the offices upon the line were opened, the instruments employed being of the most primitive description: signalling keys, whose contacts were formed by tiny pools of mercury, batteries consisting of Daniell's elements contained in old glass tumblers, and receiving instruments comprised in a small needle balanced within an insulated coil. Such was the scanty means by which telegraph communication was then maintained.

No further extension of the telegraph system was undertaken until 1864-65, when the branch line from Indore to Ratlam and Nimach was erected, uninsulated at first, but subsequently insulated as regards the latter section.

This line also may be said to have done much for Central India, but rather from a commercial point of benefit.

view, by assisting to develop the immense opium cultivation of Western Malwa, through the heart of which it passes.

Railway.

Line from
Indore to
Khandwa,
1866.

But railways were opening out, and, wherever feasible, the telegraph lines were shifted from the roads to secure the facilities of inspection, maintenance, and transport of material offered by location alongside a railway. In 1866-67 an insulated line of two wires was erected on the road to Khandwa to meet the new telegraph system in course of construction along the G. I. P. and E. I. Railways between Bombay and Calcutta, so that for two or three years there was an alternative route from Indore to Bombay. But in 1870 the Mhow-Malligaum section of the original trunk line was dismantled, and the Khandwa line became, as it is now, the only direct route available. Meanwhile, great improvements had been effected in the signalling instruments throughout the country: Digney's Sounder instruments had replaced the old double-current keys and galvanometers, and had again been themselves superseded by the Morse Sounders with Siemen's keys and relays, the pattern at present in use. Minotto's battery itself, a modified form of Daniell's, had taken the places of the latter; and a regular system of line and fault-testing was under organization.

Line from
Indore to
Dewas.

The next addition to the Central Indian Telegraphs was of a purely local character, an extra wire being carried along the Agra road from Indore as far as Dewas, and an uninsulated line erected thence to Ujjain.

From Khandwa to Narbadda along the railway.

The Holkar and Nimach State Railways, from Khandwa to Nasirabad, had now been commenced; and in 1873 the first section of the existing telegraph

lines, with all the latest improvements in material and insulation, was constructed alongside that railway from Khandwa to the Narbadda. From the Narbadda it was completed to Indore in the following year; and in 1875-76 was again extended to Ratlam and Ujjain, each corresponding section of the road lines being dismantled as that along the railway was brought into circuit.

This brings the history of the telegraphs in Central India up to the present date, no further extensions or alterations having taken place since 1876; but the lines are shortly to be extended along the railway to Nimach and Nasirabad, and the net-work of telegraphs in Central India will then practically be complete.

Collections.

Collections.

Station.	AMOUNT.			
	1873-74. Rs.	1874-75. Rs.	1875-76. Rs.	1876-77 Rs.
Indore	13,303	19,161	22,660	16,808
Mhow	3,158	3,471	5,089	4,674
Ratlam	2,959	4,003	5,064	4,688
Jaora	1,382	1,725	1,435	1,194
Mandessor	2,340	2,525	3,661	3,083
Nimach	2,088	2,342	3,367	3,041
Shajapur	675	726	1,144	867
Beora	331	341	498	393
Guna	323	572	606	555
Gwalior	2,719	3,535	4,148	3,160
Morar	2,268	4,421	2,845	2,487
Ujjain	2,275	3,224	3,667	3,001

HOSPITALS AND DISPENSARIES.

Success of Hospitals* and Dispensaries under British supervision have been established all over Central India: series in Central India. Indore is the head-quarters of medical operations.

The kindness and the eminent skill of Dr. Beaumont, the Residency Surgeon, have drawn year after year increasing numbers to the Dispensary and to the

Malwa Dispensaries under British supervision.

	1866.	1867.	1868.	1869.	1870.	1871.	1872.	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.
Number of patients admitted or treated	27,526	27,747	28,557	28,609	32,962	33,310	35,307	36,939	44,018	52,306	51,778
Number of deaths.	150	146	156	279	231	191	502	....	268	373	270
Number of Vaccinations	5,312	5,372	4,885	4,930	2,197	2,181	2,138	....	3,029	5,421	6,817
Cost, Rs. ..	12,153	15,508	10,380	10,056	15,315	18,222	17,335	....	....	....	....

There are Dispensaries at the following places—Indore, Ujjain, Ratlam, Dhar, Dewas, Agar, Gwalior, Sipri, Jawad, Nowgong, Satna, Nagode, Rewa, Sohawal, Maihir, Sirdarpur, Rajpur, Jhalna, Jobat, Bakhtgarh, Amjhera, Badnawar, Kakshi, Dharmpuri, Schore, Beora, Bhilsa, Narsinghar, Khilchipur, Pathari, Kurwai, Guna, Manpur, Khal and Barwani.

INDORE CHARITABLE HOSPITAL.

Year.	Major surgical operations.
1865	..
1866	..
1867	..
1868	..
1869	..
1870	..
1871	..
1872	..
1873	..
1874	..
1875	..
1876	..

Hospital at Indore. The latter, indeed, is perhaps the most important in India, excepting those of the Presidency-towns. Its fame for eye cases has spread beyond the limits of Central India. In 1876 Dr. Beaumont performed ninety-one operations for cataract ; thirty operations for artificial pupil ; five iridectomies ; seven total excisions of the eye-ball ; and sixteen other major operations on the eye. Patients come in from the large towns of the North-Western Provinces and from distant States.

The Chiefs have everywhere contributed liberally to Dispensaries and Infirmaries, and have shown a marked readiness to place the care of the sick in their States under the supervision of British Medical officers. The Maharajas Scindia and Holkar have established and endowed large institutions ; the Maharaja of Dhar has founded a leper hospital ; and the Maharajas of Urcha, Ajigarh, Bijawar and Panna have especially lent their aid to the cause of vaccination.* In 1874 the infant Maharaja of Chattarpur was vaccinated at the particular request of the Rani. In smaller States much has been, and is being, done with the active support of the Chiefs or their Ministers.

Native Doctors, selected, or trained by Dr. Beaumont, have done a great deal of good work in Indore itself and in the surrounding States. In 1875, at Ratlam, the native Doctor treated 9,962 patients, and performed fifteen major operations successfully. In 1874

Eye operations.

Support from the Chiefs.

* In some parts of Central India the people believe that vaccination is practised with a view to discover a child, with white blood, who shall appear and work wonders, rising to be a great king that shall rule far and wide !—*Administration Report.*

the native Doctor at Ujjain treated 7,719 patients. An excellent native Doctor at Dhar has won the confidence of the people, and his work is watched with sympathy and interest by the amiable Chief. At Dewas, where there is a good native Doctor and a trained midwife, the Rajas are building a new Dispensary and Hospital.

Moral effect. The moral effect of the medical work being done in the Native States can hardly be over-estimated. Chiefs and subjects must admit that here, at any rate, the aid of the Paramount Power is lent from purely unselfish and benevolent motives.

EDUCATION.

At Gwalior the Maharaja Sindia keeps up an educational establishment of one director of state education, two inspectors of schools, and a number of teachers for the Lashkar College; and there are two or more masters for each of the ninety-three District schools. About six hundred boys are being educated at the College, fifty of whom learn English; and the names of about 3,500 children are on the rolls of the District schools. Much has still to be done in this State with its population of upwards of 2,500,000.

Holkar's Madrissa at Indore educates, almost exclusively, Dakhni Brahmins. His Highness takes a very great personal interest in it; every year devoting several days to an examination of the different classes. The course of study comprises English and the physical sciences, and candidates are prepared for the matriculation examinations of the Bombay and Calcutta Universities. At Mandlesar and Khargon there are English schools; and in the superior Marathi schools of Mahesar, Rampura, Kanod and Barwai, English classes have been formed. A law* school and a Sanskrit† school were established in 1875; a medical school is in course of establishment; and the Maharaja has expressed his willingness to endow a technical school. Two girls' schools in the city of Indore are well attended. There are besides, nine Marathi, thirty-six Hindi, eight Sanskrit, nine Persian

* Instruction is conveyed both in English and Marathi.

† The course of study comprises the Siddhanta Kaumudi, the Shekhara, and other advanced works on Grammar. A few students also read the Mitakshara.

and fourteen Hindi-Marathi schools. The middle and lower schools are periodically examined by an inspector ; and a superintendent presides over the whole system, acting under the advice of the principal of the Residency College. About Rs. 35,000 are annually spent under the head of Education.

Bhopal.

The Sehore High School, established in 1818 by Major Hendly, has this year 279 boys on the rolls. It has recently been examined by Mr. Carnduff, Inspector of Schools, Central Provinces. He reports favourably upon it:—“ The discipline is good. There “ is a hearty, healthy tone all through it, pervading “ both masters and pupils.” Special classes have lately been formed for the sons of chiefs.

There is also an admirable girls’ school at Sehore under Mrs. Mears,—“ a school mistress,” the Political Agent writes, “ of high culture, great experience and energy.” There are 110 girls on the rolls.

Rewa.

There is a school at Rewa ; and that is about all that can be said. In this great State, with its population of more than 2,000,000 souls, public education has still to make a beginning.

Maihir and Nagode.

The Raja of Maihir is an intelligent and educated man, and his State school is well attended. There are also fair schools at Nagode and Kothi.

Bundelkhand
Rajkumar
College.

The Rajkumar College at Nowgong was founded in 1872 by the chiefs of Bundelkhand as a memorial to Lord Mayo. There are now forty-nine young chiefs and gentlemen on the rolls. Among these may be mentioned—the Raja of Chattarpur, the Raja of Sarila, the Raja of Khanyadhana and his brother, the Maharaja of Samphtar’s sons, the Maharaja of

Panna's brother, the Maharaja of Ajigarh's son, the Jagirdar of Jigni, the Jagirdar of Behat, the Jagirdar of Tiraon, and the Jagirdar of Pahra. English, Hindi, Urdu, and Persian are taught, together with the usual branches of a liberal education. Lawn tennis and cricket are played with enthusiasm ; and Mr. Mathers, the principal, may be congratulated on the spirit which he has infused into both the studies and sports.

Returns* from twenty-six States in Bundelkhand show a total of forty-eight schools, with an average daily attendance of 1,333 pupils, and at a cost per annum of Rs. 17,620. In only two or three of these schools English is taught. No system of periodical inspection has yet been organized.

The Residency (Rajkumar) College, Indore, is affiliated to the Calcutta University, and is a centre of examination for the matriculation and First Arts Standards. The Principal, by the desire of the chiefs, exercises a general supervision over the State schools throughout Malwa. A general examination is held annually in April. This examination giving relative results, which are published in the Annual Report of the Agency, excites a healthy rivalry among the different schools ; and a substantial interest is attached to it, as scholarships given by the chiefs† are awarded according to the results obtained.

* Report of 1876-77.

† Rupees ten a month, tenable for one year, given by each of the following Chiefs :—

- H. H. the Maharaja Holkar.
- H. H. the Maharaja of Dhar.
- H. H. the Raja of Dewas, Dada Sahib.
- H. H. the Nawab of Jaora.
- H. H. the Raja of Ratlam.

**The Rajku-
mar College,
Indore.**

This College has separate classes for the young chiefs of Malwa with a special course of study, comprising, among other subjects, Political Economy and English. Twice a week these classes are drilled by a competent instructor ; and polo, the favorite game of the school, is regularly played. The following is the roll of these classes since their formation in 1876 :—

- H. H. the Raja of Dewas, Narayan Rao, Dada Sahib.
- H. H. the Raja of Ratlam, Ranjit Singh.
- Sevaji Rao Holkar, Bala Sahib (elder son of Maharaja Holkar).
- Jeswant Rao Holkar, Bala Sahib (younger son of Maharaja Holkar).
- Jiwaji Rao Puar, Rao Sahib. } (Dewas family).
- Madhu Rao Puar, Rao Sahib. }
- Nawab Yassin Mohammed Khan (Bhopal family).
- Raghunath Singh (eldest son of the late Raja of Amjhira).
- Kishen Singh (second son of the late Raja of Amjhira).
- Nawab Bahadur
- Umrao Bahadur } (Banda family).
- Sirdar Bahadur
- The Thakur of Bagli, Raghunath Singh.
- The Thakur of Bakhtgarh, Partab Singh.
- The Thakur of Kelalia, Amar Singh.
- The Rana of Jobat, Sarup Singh.
- The Rana of Mathwar, Ranjit Singh.
- The Bhumia of Jamnia, Ressaldar Hamir Singh.
- The Bhumia of Kali Baori, Sher Singh.
- The Bhumia of Nimbkhera, or Tirla, Dariou Singh.
- The Raja of Girwani, Ranjit Singh. .
- Maharaj Jeswant Singh of Semlia.
- Maharaj Chattar Singh of Semlia.
- Maharaj Lall Singh of Amleta.

The following institutions compete :—Residency College ; High school, Indore ; High school, Dhar ; High school, Dewas ; High school, Jaora ; Central College, Ratlam ; Zoroastrian school, Mhow ; District school, Maupur ; and High school, Barwani.

Maharaj Dalpat Singh of Amleta.
 Chain Singh of Karaodia.
 Takht Singh (Sandea family).
 Sambhaji Rao, Anna Sahib.
 Mehr Singh, Sirdar of Ratlam.
 Daulat Rao, Sirdar of Dewas.
 Zalim Singh, of Kachi Baroda.
 Krishna Rao, Bala Sahib (the Peishwa family).

There are altogether upwards of 200 boys on the ^{Numbers on} rolls of the Residency College, which at present takes ^{Rolls.} the highest place among the educational institutions of Malwa.

A fine school-house was opened at Dhar in July ^{Dhar.} 1876. A large establishment is maintained at the Chief's expense, and about 370 pupils of both sexes are on the rolls. The school teaches up to the matriculation standard of the Calcutta University. There are twelve* District schools, in which upwards of 300 children receive an elementary education.

At Dewas a school has only recently been opened. ^{Dewas.} It is full to overflowing. Both States contribute

<i>*Place.</i>		<i>Class.</i>		<i>Pupils.</i>
Kesar ...	...	Hindi	...	... 15
Nalcha...	...	Marathi	...	... 22
Dedla ...	...	Hindi	...	... 10
Garrawad ...	...	Hindi	...	... 7
Karode...	...	Hindi	...	... 31
Bijur ...	...	Hindi	...	... 8
Badnawar ...	"	{ Urdu	...	... 13
	"	{ Marathi	...	... 39
Dharpuri ...	...	{ Urdu	...	... 7
	"	{ Marathi	...	... 56
Sultanabad ...	...	Hindi	...	... 34
Jahangirpur ...	...	Hindi	...	... 23
Balkhar ...	...	Hindi	...	... 15
Kuksi ...	...	Hindi	...	... 23

to its maintenance ; and a school-house is about to be built on a piece of land common to the two States.

Jaora.

The High school here has long been in a backward condition. The staff of teachers is small ; but a new head-master, a graduate in Honors of the Calcutta University, has lately been appointed, and this, perhaps, marks the commencement of a new era. The Arabic and Persian classes are all that one would expect to find in a Mahomedan State.

Ratlam.

The Central College, Ratlam, is an educational institution that would do credit to any State. An English head-master, with a large staff of assistants, is maintained ; and the classes are accommodated in a convenient and handsome building. Sanskrit, Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, English, Mathematics, History and Geography are taught. A lithographic press is kept constantly at work ; and the weekly newspaper that issues from it keeps the merchants and bankers of the city informed of current prices and polities. The State also maintains a capital girls' school ; and eighteen District schools are periodically visited and reported upon by a highly competent native inspector. Besides these State institutions, there are sixteen private schools in the city, in which about 600 boys and 35 girls are being educated.

Barwani.

A very creditable system of public education has been established in this remote State. There are altogether ten State schools, including a High school with about 240 boys on the rolls, and two girls' schools. Of the latter, Pandit Sarup Narayan, the Deputy Bhil Agent, says :—“ Some of the girls were found to be making real progress. More than one in each school

could read fluently, write correctly from dictation, and do easy sums in arithmetic." The High school boasts a Cricket Club and a Debating Society.

In our own district of Manpur there are three day ^{Manpur.} schools, attended chiefly by Bhils, and a night school for the benefit of the agricultural population. The total number of students, 107, gives a ratio of nearly 1 to 37 of the entire population. Hindi, Urdu, English, Geography, History and Arithmetic are taught.

In this poor little chiefship, lying far away in the ^{Alirajpore.} jungle among wild hills, sparsely peopled with Bhils, education has not been neglected. There is one capital school, educating about 120 boys. The Bhil Agent reports that :—"The discipline is first-rate, and the Dewan personally takes a great interest in it, examining the classes himself."

There are four State schools at Jhabua (^{Jhabua.} Jhabua, Ranapur, Thandla, and Rambhapur) with a total of 155 students. Hindi is the only language taught.

An English school has recently been opened at ^{Bakhtgarh.} Bakhtgarh.

Ujjain, in ancient days a great centre of civilisation ^{Ujjain.} and learning, the capital of Vikramaditya and the home of Kalidasa, has now for a long time been without a single school ; but the Maharaja Sindia has at length sanctioned the necessary expenditure for a first-class vernacular school, which will be opened at once.

An English school was opened this year at Guna. ^{Guna.} The Maharaja Sindia and the Chiefs of Raghugarh, Paron, Umri, and Sirsi have offered to contribute a handsome sum towards its maintenance. Classes will be formed for the sons of the neighbouring Chiefs and Thakurs.

LOCAL CORPS.

Troops in
Central In-
dia.

There are thirteen military stations within the limits of the Central India Agency, *viz.*, Mhow, Nimach, Mehidpur, Indore, Morar, Gwalior Fort, Sipri, Nowgong, Satna, Agar, Guna, Sehore and Sirdarpur. Of these, the last four* are garrisoned by Local Regiments under the orders of the Agent to the Governor-General ; and the others by troops of the line.

Strength and
distribution.

The strength and distribution of these troops is shown in the table at the end of this chapter: *vide* p. cciv.

The Central
India Horse.

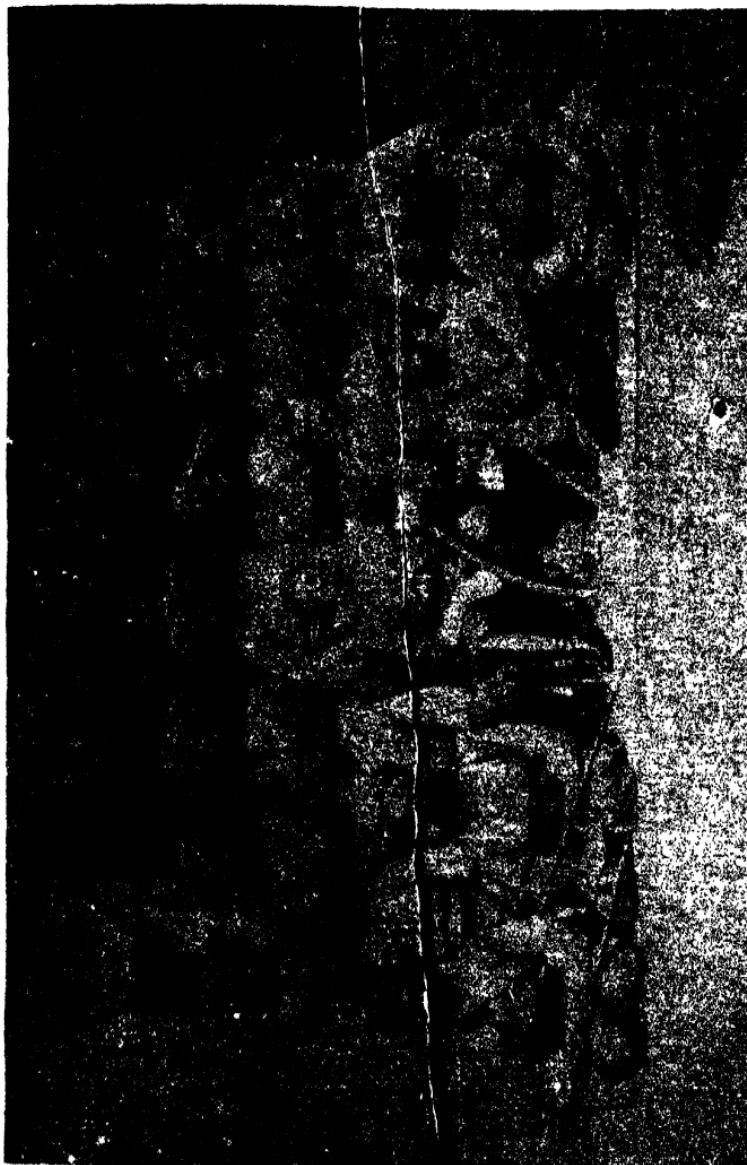
†The Central India Horse was cast in its present form in 1859. It consists of 986 sabres of all ranks, excluding European officers. It is formed into two regiments of six troops each. Each troop has a distinctive character, being either composed of Mahomedans, Hindus or Sikhs. In the 2nd Regiment, for instance, the 1st Troop is Mahomedan, the 2nd Hindu, and the 3rd Sikh. A squadron is thus composed of two classes ; and the system has been found to work well.

Recruiting
Districts.

The Mahomedans are enlisted principally from the North-Western Provinces, a few from the Deckan and Jaipur, while a small number are Pathans. The Hindus come from Oudh and the North-Western Provinces. The Jats and a few Dogras come from the Chambal Districts ; and the Sikhs from the Panjab and from Bhopal,—where a small Sikh community is settled.

* A wing of the native infantry regiment stationed at Mehidpur is detached to Agar.

† Agency Report, 1876-77.



The following table shows the proportion of each Constitution. class in all ranks :—

RANK.	Mahomedans.	Hindus.	Sikhs.	Christians.	Total.
Native officers	10	7	9	...	26
Non-commissioned officers ...	39	33	36	...	108
Sowars, Trumpeters & Farriers...	310	270	265	7	852
Total ...	359	310	310	7	986

The regimental head-quarters are at Guna and Agar, 130 miles apart. The two regiments relieve each other every three years. Head-quarters.

The corps furnishes 24 permanent commands, consisting of 179 sabres ; and its squadrons are ready to co-operate with the forces at Morar, Sagar, Mhow, Nimach, and Deoli, being the only cavalry in the vast area circumscribed by those military stations. Field of operation.

The regiments have built good lines and stabling Barracks. at Agar and Guna ; and brick or stone barracks have been provided at nearly all the permanent commands by the liberality of the chiefs.

The armament consists of swords, the front rank having also spears, and 240 carbines being distributed in the rear rank, or otherwise, as occasion may demand. Equipment.

A tent between two troopers, and a pony to carry Tents. it, are always maintained.

The corps is well mounted on Arabs purchased Remounts. at Bombay, at an average price of about Rs. 350 ; and on country-breds procured locally; the produce

of Government* stallions, or from the fairs of Balotra and Pokar in Rajputana.

Furlough. When the exigencies of the service permit it, a number equal to a troop of each regiment is always on furlough.

Purchase of grain. Government allows each regiment a permanent advance of Rs. 16,000, and under regimental arrangements, grain is purchased and stored in season,—a great boon to the soldier. In 1876 the sowars were supplied with grain at prices 50 per cent. lower than those ruling in the bazar.

Colonel Meade's remarks. Writing in 1865, Colonel Meade, then Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, paid the following tribute to the utility and efficiency of these regiments :—“ As regards the local corps, the Central “ India Horse is a most useful and valuable force ; “ and it is not too much to say that the general security of the trunk road between Badarwas, 30 miles “ north of Guna, and Dewas,—a distance of 180 “ miles,—as well as of the high road between Indore “ and Nimach, is chiefly owing to its services. It has “ further done much towards suppressing crime, generally of a predatory character, throughout Western “ Malwa, and in the States and districts around and “ to the south of Guna ; the local knowledge of some “ of the native officers, especially, having proved of “ great value in effecting this object.”

Annual Inspection. The general officers at Mhow and Gwalior review

* Government stallions are kept both at Agar and Guna ; and in the cold weather they are taken into the districts round about, and serve a large number of mares belonging to the Thakurs and Zamindars. This is doing much towards improving the breed of horses in Malwa. Colonel Martin now proposes having an annual Horse Show at Agar.

the corps yearly, and their reports confirm all that can be said of this fine body of cavalry.

“ Their presence in Central India,” Sir Henry General Daly writes, “ supports order, and is an example to ^{Daly's re-}marks. “ the Native States of the discipline which British “ officers can establish. The British and native offi-“ cers are valuable to the Government of India in the “ maintainance of pleasant and friendly relations with “ the chiefs and rulers of the country. They are “ known to all.” Their services in ridding the coun-try of wild animals also deserves mention. The two regiments are stationed in the wildest parts of Central India, and they wage perpetual war against the tiger and panther. The lions, which used to be seen occa-sionally round Guna, have been exterminated.

The commandant of the corps (who makes Agar ^{Political} _{function.} his head-quarters) is, *ex officio*, Political Agent for Western Malwa ; while the officer commanding the regiment at Guna is, *ex officio*, a Political Assistant, having entrusted to him the supervision of the petty States around.

The Central India Horse has been commanded suc-^{Command-ants.} cessively by Major Maine, Colonels Travers, Daly, Hughes (offg.), Browne, Probyn, Watson, and Martin.

The Bhopal Battalion was raised in 1859, in lieu of the Contingent, which had been disbanded. It is ^{The Bhopal} _{Battalion.} stationed at Sehore. Its charges are defrayed by the Bhopal State, from the Contingent Contribution of two lakhs a year. For the year 1876 the average strength of the battalion was 932 men. Colonel Forbes has now for a long time commanded this fine corps.

The Malwa Bhil Corps, chiefly composed of Bhils, ^{The Malwa} _{Bhil Corps.} Bhilalas, Naiks and Brinjaras, is stationed at Sirdarpur on the Mahi river. As a military police force, it

renders important services to the Political authorities. The Bhil Agent is, *ex officio*, commandant. The total strength of the corps is under 600 men.

DISTRIBUTION.	Cavalry Regts.		Artillery Batteries.		Infantry Regiments.		Native.	Strength.
	European.	Native.	European.	European.	Number.	Strength.		
TROOPS OF THE LINE.								
<i>Mhow Division,—(Mhow, Nimmach, Mehidpur, Agar, Indore)</i>	1	399	1	268	3	389	1 Regt. 2 Dets.	1,178 4
<i>Gwalior District,—(Morar, Gwalior, Sipri)</i>	1	460	4	457	1 " 1 "	1,080 2 Regt. 1 Det.
<i>Sagar District,—(Nowrang, Sana)</i>	1	500	1	147	1 Det.	171 $\frac{1}{2}$
Total	...	1	399	3	1,228	8	983 2 Regts. 4 Dets.	2,379 6 $\frac{1}{2}$
LOCAL CORPS.								
Central India Horse, Agar and Guna	2	985	...	...	...	955
Bhopal Battalion, Sehore	587
Malwa Bhil Corps, Sirdarpur	1,542
Total	2	985	...	...	...	5,872
Grand Total	...	1	399	5	2,213	8	993 2 Regts. 4 Dets.	2,379 8 $\frac{1}{2}$

BOUNDARIES.

RULES for the amicable settlement of boundary dis- Preamble.putes between the States of Central India by mutual agreement, and failing that, for their judicial settlement by a Boundary Commission, for the demarcation of boundaries, the erection of pillars, their preservation, the punishment of States whose subjects infringe the settlement, and for appeals from the decisions given, were laid down by Government in 1862. These rules have been revised and modified, and now assume the following form :—

Rules for the settlement of boundary disputes between Native States in Central India.

1. A REPRESENTATIVE from each State concerned Representatives. shall attend the Boundary Officer at the disputed boundary. Such Representative shall be provided with full written authority to act on behalf of the State in all matters relating to the boundary settlement, and his acts and proceedings in relation to the settlement shall be conclusive and binding upon the State which he represents.

The written authority with which each Representative is furnished shall be taken by the Boundary Officer and filed in his records.

2. The Boundary Officer shall give written information to the States concerned of the boundary disputes which he proposes to take up, with the approximate dates on which he proposes to commence the enquiry, or enquiries, warning them to have written statements of their respective claims, together with all witnesses and evidence ready on his

Notice of cases.

arrival at the disputed boundary. In fixing such dates, due regard shall be had to the time that may be reasonably required for the proper preparation of the case and procuring the attendance of witnesses.

**Preliminary
warning.**

3. The Boundary Officer, in addition to the general notice given in accordance with Rule 2, shall, ten days before taking up a dispute, warn the Representatives of the exact date on which the investigation will be commenced. On the date fixed, or as soon thereafter as possible, the Boundary Officer shall call on the Representative of each State to give in at once the written statement of his claim, a list of the witnesses he proposes to call, and an abstract of the evidence, warning him that he will not be allowed to enter a fresh claim afterwards in respect to the matter in dispute, or to shift the ground, nature, or extent of that given in.

**Declaration
of claims.**

4. On the arrival of the Boundary Officer on the ground in dispute, he shall call upon the Representatives to show their claims. Each Representative shall mark out his claim by flags in the presence of the Boundary Officer, and the other Representatives shall be at the same time again warned that no fresh claim will after this be permitted, nor any change in the ground, nature, or extent of the claim. The claims shown shall be mapped, and the map attested by the signature of the Boundary Officer shall be filed with the record.

**Postpone-
ment of
cases.**

5. If the witnesses and evidence are not ready on the date originally named by the Boundary Officer, he may postpone the case, if good and sufficient cause be shown.

6. The authorized Representatives of the Native States deputed to attend on the Boundary Officer shall not, on any pretext, leave him without his permission. Such permission, if given, shall be for a strictly stated period, and if the Boundary Officer thinks proper, he may, before granting such permission, require the Representative to be relieved by another Representative furnished with the authority described in Rule 1.

7. In cases in which the boundary in dispute lies between one village on the one side and more than one village on the other, or between more than one village on each side, a separate record shall be prepared for each village concerned.

Examples: (a.)—A boundary is in dispute between village A in the State of X and villages B, C and D in the State of Y. A separate record shall be prepared for the dispute between A and B, A and C, and A and D.

(b.)—A boundary is in dispute between village A in the State of X and villages B and C in the State of Y, and between village D in the State of X, and villages C and E in the State of Y. A separate record shall be prepared for the dispute between A and B, A and C, D and C, and D and E.

8. Pending settlement of the dispute, both parties shall be forbidden to perform in the disputed tract any act involving proprietorship, and the Boundary Officer shall make such temporary arrangements as may seem to him suitable for the preservation of property on the land, or for the cultivation of the land, ^{Cases sub-judice.} or for the preservation of the produce, or the proceeds of the sale thereof.

Leave of
absence to
Representa-
tives.

Complex dis-
putes.

Illustration.

Illustration.

Cases sub-
judice.

*II.—Of settlement by agreement.*Compromises
out of Court.

9. The disputing parties shall in the first instance be allowed a definite time, usually one or two days, and in no case more than a week, within which to agree on the boundary between themselves.

Record of
such.

10. If an agreement be thus effected, the Boundary Officer shall cause the fact to be recorded, and shall file with his record the original agreement signed by the Representatives of the States concerned and attested by him. He shall then map the boundary so agreed upon, and cause it to be demarcated with masonry pillars.

Records fur-
nished to
Representa-
tives.

11. The Boundary Officer shall prepare and file with the record a full statement in narrative form of his proceedings in the case, and of the settlement effected, and shall furnish to each Representative a copy of this statement and of the map referred to in the preceding rule as soon as possible.

No appeal.

12. There shall be no appeal in the case of a settlement effected, as above, by mutual agreement.

III.—Of settlement by arbitration, &c.

Arbitration.

13. If the parties fail to effect a mutual agreement as above, the Boundary Officer shall record the fact. The disputants shall then be allowed a definite time, usually one or two days, and in no case exceeding a week, within which to agree to the settlement of the boundary:

Panchayat.

(a) by a punchayet of men agreed to on both sides ; or

Single arbit-
trator.
Several arbit-
trators.

(b) by a single arbitrator similarly agreed to ; or

(c) by one or more men agreed to on both sides walking the boundary under an oath ; or

(d) in any other way agreeable to the customs of other modes of settlement the district to which both parties give their consent.

14. The agreement to settle the case by one or other of the modes described in the preceding rule shall be in writing. It shall be signed by the Boundary Officer as also by the Representatives of the States, and, whenever practicable, by the zemindars concerned, and filed with the record of the case before any steps are taken to effect the settlement under the terms thereof.

15. The settlement shall be proceeded with in the manner agreed on as soon as possible after the agreement is filed under Rule 14, and the Boundary Officer shall fix a reasonable time within which the settlement shall be concluded. Such period may be extended by the Boundary Officer for good and sufficient reason shown.

16. If a settlement be effected by any of the methods provided by Rule 13, no evidence shall be adduced or recorded. The Boundary Officer shall record the mode in which the settlement was effected, and shall then proceed as provided for in Rules 10 and 11.

17. There shall be no appeal from a settlement effected under Rule 13, except on the ground of corruption or misconduct on the part of one or more of the persons whose proceedings were material to the settlement. Any application to set aside the settlement shall be made to the Boundary Officer within ten days after the settlement has been accorded.

IV.—Of settlement by the Boundary Officer.

18. If the parties do not agree to the boundary as provided in Rule 9, or to the settlement of it by Officers.

any of the modes described in Rule 13, or if having agreed, the settlements be not effected within the time allowed under Rule 15, the Boundary Officer shall record the fact, and shall then proceed to settle the case himself. He shall call upon the Representatives of the States concerned to produce evidence in support of their claims as described in the written statement referred to in Rule 3. He shall then proceed to settle the case on its merits, unless intermediately, the parties tender a written settlement under Rule 9, or unless in cases in which a written agreement to settle under Rule 13 has not already been made, the parties tender such a written agreement.

*Ex parte
decisions.*

19. If on the date fixed under Rules 2 and 3, or on any other day to which the case may be postponed under these rules, the accredited Representative of either party does not appear, or if, during the investigation, the Representative of either party takes his departure without the permission of the Boundary Officer, the Boundary Officer shall record the fact, and investigate and determine the case *ex parte*.

Old records.

20. The Boundary Officer shall hear and record the evidence on both sides. He may call for evidence in addition to that produced by the parties, and shall particularly enquire for, and have regard to, old records or previous settlements bearing upon the disputed boundary.

*Record of
decision*

21. The decision of the Boundary Officer shall be in writing, and signed by him. It shall contain in narrative form a full statement of his proceedings in the case, and shall set forth the grounds advanced by each party in support of its claim, and the grounds on which his judgment is based, and it shall be deli-

vered by the Boundary Officer in presence of the parties.

22. At the time of giving his decision, the Boundary Officer shall invite the authorized Representatives of the States concerned to signify in writing their acceptance of it. If they accept it, the acceptance shall be attested by the Boundary Officer and filed with the record. The decision shall thereupon be final, and there shall be no appeal from it. If either, or both, decline to accept it, the Boundary Officer shall record the fact.

23. On giving his decision the Boundary Officer shall cause the line as settled to be carefully mapped, and shall file with the record a map showing the claims of each party and the line settled by him.

24. The Boundary Officer shall furnish to each Representative, as soon as possible, a copy of his decision and of the map, and of the acceptance thereof, if such has been given and filed.

25. When the Representatives of both sides accept the decision of the Boundary Officer, he shall cause masonry pillars to be built demarcating the boundary settled. In cases in which both parties do not accept the decision of the Boundary Officer, temporary marks shall be made and pillars built after the decision has been confirmed by higher authority.

26. During the investigation of the case the Boundary Officer may grant such postponements from time to time as he may consider necessary.

27. If either party causes unnecessary delay, or in any way wilfully obstructs the proceedings of the

Concurrence
of Represent-
atives.

Mapping.
Record fur-
nished to Re-
presentative.

Demarcation.

Postpone-
ments.

Wilful delay
and obstruc-
tion.

case at any stage, any additional expense that may be caused thereby shall, if the Boundary Officer so determine, be charged to, and recovered from, the party causing delay or obstructions.

V.—Of appeals from the settlement by the Boundary Officer.

Appeal to the Agent to Govr.-Genl. 28. If either Representative declines, or if both decline, to accept the decision of the Boundary Officer, an appeal may be made to the Agent to the Governor-General.

Appeal to the Viceroy and Govr.-Genl. in Council. 29. If the Agent to the Governor-General confirm the decision of the Boundary Officer, the decision shall be final, and there shall be no further appeal. If the Agent to the Governor-General modify or reverse the decision of the Boundary Officer, an appeal may be made to the Governor-General in Council, whose decision shall be final.

Decision furnished to each party. 30. A certified copy of the decision of the Agent to the Governor-General shall be given to each party, or transmitted to them as soon as practicable.

Form of appeals. 31. Appeals shall be in the form of a Memorandum, which shall set forth, concisely, and under distinct heads, the grounds of objection to the decision appealed against without any argument, or narrative, and shall, if the decision appealed against be that of the Boundary Officer, be delivered to the Agent to the Governor-General within sixty days from the date on which the Boundary Officer gave the Representative a copy of his decision and of the map; and if that of the Agent to the Governor-General, within sixty days from the date on which the decision was pronounced..

VI.—Of the preservation of the Boundary.

32. After the permanent pillars have been erected Injury to pillars. on a boundary, if any be destroyed or injured, enquiry shall be made into the circumstances. The State, to the subjects of which the damage is traced, shall be liable, on the judgment of the Agent to the Governor General, to a penalty not exceeding Rupees 1,000. If it be impossible to trace the actual culprits, the State against which the decision was originally given shall be held responsible and punished accordingly.

33. If such injury be done after the expiry of Injury done after ten years. ten years from the date of the completion of the pillars, the case shall be dealt with as the Agent to the Governor-General may at the time determine on a consideration of the circumstances of the case.

VII.—Miscellaneous.

34. These rules shall, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to Disputes between States. cases in which the dispute is not regarding the actual boundary between one village and another, but whether a particular village, or villages, the boundaries of which may or may not be disputed, belongs to one State or to another.

35. In cases referred to in the preceding rule, Right of possession. possession at the time of the establishment of British supremacy,—*i. e.*, in Malwa and in Rajputana, A.D. 1818, and in Bundelkhand, A.D. 1803,—shall determine the right, unless subsequently the matter have been otherwise determined by competent authority, or unless uninterrupted and undisputed adverse possession for a period of twenty-five years be proved.

36. These rules shall, *mutatis mutandis*, apply to Disputes between villages. cases in which a British officer is employed to settle

disputes between villages situated within the territorial limits of the same State.

File furnish-
ed to Politi-
cal Agent.

37. The Boundary Officer shall submit an English report on each case settled by any of the preceding rules, with copies of the vernacular papers given by him to the Representatives, through the Political Agent within whose charge he is working, to the Agent to the Governor-General. When a Boundary Officer is dealing with boundaries in dispute between States which are in relation with different British Administrations, he shall submit duplicate copies, one to each Administration.

State.	Agency.	Approximate date of foundation of State.	Area.	Populatiou.	Revenue.	Name of Chief in 1878.
Ajigarh	Bundelkhand	1798	802	53,000	2,25,000	Ranjör Singh
Alirajpur	Bhil	...	800	29,000	1,00,000	Rup Deöji
Baoni	Bundelkhand.	1806	127	20,000	1,00,000	Mehedi Hussein Khan
Barwani	Deputy Bhil...	1300	2,000	33,020	87,700	Jeswant Singh
Beraunda	Bundelkhand	...	230	14,000	28,000	Ragbir Diyal
Bhopal	Bhopal	1700	8,200	769,200	26,83,400	Shah Jehan
Bijawar	Bundelkhand.	1798	920	102,000	2,25,000	Bhan Partab Singh
Chhatarpur	Bundelkhand	1806	1,210	170,000	2,50,000	Bishen Nath Singh
Charkhari	Bundelkhand	1798	861	121,000	5,00,000	Jai Singh Deö
Dattia	Bundelkhand	1735	820	180,000	10,00,000	Bhawani Singh
Dewas	Indore	...	256	121,809	6,02,800	Krishnaji Rao Puar
Dhar	Bhil	...	2,500	150,000	8,00,000	Narayan Rao Puar
Amand Rao Puar						
Gwalior	Gwalior	...	1738	33,119	2,500,000	Jiaji Rao Sindia
Indore	Indore	...	1728	8,075	635,000	Tukaji Rao Holkar
Jaora	W. Malwa ...	1818	872	85,700	7,99,300	Ismael Khan
Jhabua	Bhil	...	1300	1,500	2,25,000	Gopal Singh
Kilchhipur	Bhopal	...	204	30,900	1,75,000	Amar Singh
Maihir	Baghelkhand	1814	400	70,000	80,000	Raghbir Singh
[cheira)						
Nagôd (or U-	Baghelkhand	...	450	75,000	1,50,000	Jadhu Bind Singh
Narsingarh	Bhopal	...	1681	720	4,00,000	Partab Singh
Panna	Bundelkhand	1718	2,555	183,000	5,00,000	Rudar Partab Singh
Rajgarh	Bhopal	...	1400	612	75,742	Abdul Wasi Khan (Meti Singh).
Ratlam	W. Malwa ...	1658	1,200	100,000	5,80,000	Ranjit Singh
Rewa	Baghelkhand	580	13,000	2,035,000	25,00,000	Raghuraj Singh
Sampihar	Bundelkhand	1762	175	108,000	4,00,000	Hindupat
Sillana	W. Malwa ...	1709	500	27,000	1,21,100	Dule Singh
Sitamau	W. Malwa ...	1658	850	29,400	1,95,870	Bhawani Singh
Urcha	Bundelkhand	1532	2,000	195,000	9,00,000	Mohendar Partab Singh

* This table include

† p indicates the pe

‡ Salute of Chiefs

The Petty Chiefs of

State.	Chief's Name.	Chief's Title.	Chief's Race.	Age in 1878.	Date of Succession.	Relation to Pre-decessor.
Bai	... Hari Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	47	...	Son ...
Bagli	... Ragunath Singh	Thakur ...	Rahtor Rajput	18	1866	Adopted son ...
Bhojakheri	... Girwar Singh ...	Rawat ...	Rajput ...	67		Grandson ...
Dhaora Ganjara	Badichand ...	Tarwi ...	Bhil ...	42	...	Grandson ...
	Bhima ...	Tarwi ...	Bhil ...	30	...	Grandson ...
Kaitha	Somlia ...	Tarwi ...	Bhil ...	27	...	Grandson ...
	Lachman ...	Tarwi ...	Bhil ...	17	1869	Nephew ...
	Sheodan Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	31	...	Son ...
Karaudia	Umeid Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	56	...	Son ...
	Debi Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	54	...	Son ...
Kharsi Jhalaria	Moti Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	50	...	Son ...
	Datar Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	40	...	Son ...
Men	Umeida ...	Tarwi ...	Bhil ...	47	...	Son ...
	Lalchand		Bhil ...	34	...	.....
			Bhil ...	40	...	.....
Pathari	Pirthi Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	47	...	Son ...
Singhana	Dariou Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	21	1871	Nephew ...
Tonk	Nirpat Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	36	1869	Son ...

the Indore Agency.

Area of State. Sq. M.	Popula- tion.	Revenue. Rs.	Tribute, &c.	Engagements.	REMARKS.
...	Settlement with Dewas mediated in 1818: Sanads from Holkar and Sindia.	Receives tankhas of Rs. 4,835 from Dewas, Rs. 2,687 from Sindia, and Rs. 1,145 from Holkar.
300	17,035	80,000	Nazarana of one-fourth of net revenue was paid to Sindia on accession of present Chief, being an adopted heir.	Under terms of settlement effected by Malcolm in 1819, received 14 villages on quit-rent of Rs. 6,471 from Sindia. For 69 other villages he pays Sindia a jamua of Rs. 10,001.	This Chief, who is a tributary of Sindia's, is studying at the Residency (Rajkumar) College, Indore.
...	Have an engagement with the Indore Durbar to protect the roads between Simrol Ghât and Sigwar. By engagement mediated in 1818 receives Rs. 1,427 yearly from two chiefs of Dewas.	Chain Singh, Thakur's son, being educated at Residency (Rajkumar) College, Indore.
...		
...		
A.		
...	Tankhas from Sindia, Holkar and Bhopal guaranteed by mediation.	Have an engagement with Dewas, from whom, as well as from Sindia, they receive tankhas.
...		
...		
...	A settlement of their claims effected by Malcolm in 1819. They were responsible for robberies committed on road between Sarun and Mhow.	The settlement of Sir John Malcolm has been modified under circumstances not yet clearly ascertained.
...		
...		
...		
...	Receives a tankha of Rs. 4,835 from Dewas under terms of settlement mediated in 1818.	
...	A settlement with Sindia and Holkar was mediated by Major Henley, but exchanges of territory leave only Rs. 56 payable by Holkar.	
...	Receives, under terms of sanads, tankhas from Sindia and Holkar; and receives a tankha, for which no sanad is forthcoming, from Dewas.	It has been the practice for the Agent to Governor - General to grant him a parwanha to enable him to realize the tankha from Sindia's local officials.

The Petty Chiefs of the Bhil

State.	Chief's Name.	Chief's Title.	Race.	Age in 1878.	Date of Succession.
Baisola (or Dhotra) ...	Bhum Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	46	.....
Bakhtgarh ...	Partab Singh ...	Thakur (or Mand-loe).	Rajput ...	15	.....
Chhota Barkhera ...	Bhowani Singh ...	Bhumia ...	Bhilala ...	47	.....
Kachhi Baroda ...	Dallel Singh ...	Thakur (usually styled Maha-raja).	Rajput ...	40	1856
Kali Baori ...	Sher Singh ...	Bhumia ..	Bhilala ...	14	1874
Kathiwarra ...	Bahadur Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	42	1865
Mathwar ...	Ranjit Singh ...	Rana ...	Bhilala ...	15	1865
Mota Barkhera ...	Bharat Singh ...	Bhumia ...	Bhilala ...	42	.....
Multhan ...	Dalpat Singh ...	Thakur (usually styled Maha-raja).	Rajput ...	42	1852
Jobat ...	Sarup Singh ...	Rana ...	Rah tor Rajput.	11	1874
Rattanmall ...	Abhey Singh ...	Thakur ...	Rajput ...	32	.....
Tirla (or Nimkhera) ...	Dariou Singh ..	Bhumia ...	Bhilala ...	15	1864

The Petty Chiefs of the

Bhandpura ...	Udai Singh ...	Bhumia ...	Bhilala ...	32	1858
Garhi (or Bhaisa Khiri)	Nahar Singh ...	Bhumia ...	Bhilala ...	84	1864
Jamnia ...	Hamir Singh ...	Bhumia ...	Bhilala ...	22	1863
Kothide	Moti Singh ...	Bhumia ...	Bhilala ...	28	1860
Rajgarh ...	Chain Singh ...	Bhumia ...	Bhilala ...	39	1864

and Deputy Bhil Agencies.

Relation to Predecessor.	Area of State.	Population.	Revenue.	Tribute.	Engagements with Imperial Government.	REMARKS.
						Sq. M.
						Rs.
Adopted (nephew).	
Adopted son...	49,000	.....	.....
	1,500	4,000	.....	.....
Adopted (kinsman).	
Son	4,000	.....	.....
Brother	...	320	1,500	3,000	.....
Son	320	1,500	3,700	.....
Son	5,000	20,000	.....
Son	
Son	224	8,000	17,000	.....
	120	500	1,500	.....
Cousin	5,000	12,000	.....

Deputy Bhil Agency.

Son	...	24	1,265	2,896	512	.....	* Well-behaved, but improvident.
Brother	...	5 $\frac{1}{2}$	552	2,154	327	.....	Shrewd and conservative.
Son ...	...	50	2,652	14,462	1,919	.....	Educated at the Residency (Rajkumar) College. Well-behaved.
Son	...	8	288	679	.....	.....	Well-behaved, but improvident.
Brother	...	13 $\frac{1}{2}$	504	3,499	403	.....	Intelligent and well-behaved.

* Agent's remarks.

The Petty Chiefs of the

State.	Chief's Name.	Chief's Title.	Chief's Race.	Age in 1878.	Date of Succession.	Relation to Predecessor.
Alipura	... Chhatarpati ...	Rao Bahadur, Jagirdar.	Purihar Rajput	26	1871	Son ...
Beri	... Bijai Singh ...	Rao Jagirdar	Puar Rajput ...	30	1862	Adopted son
Behut	... Mahum Singh...	Rao Jagirdar	Bundela Rajput	20	1872	Son ...
Bhaisonda	... Tirat Pershad...	Chaubey Jagirdar.	Chaubey Brahman.	56	1829	Brother ...
Bijna	... Makund Sing ...	Dewan Jagirdar.	Bundela Rajput	41	1850	Son ...
Banka Pahari	... Piyari Ju ...	Dewan Jagirdar.	Bundela Rajput	28	1871	Son ...
Dhurwai	... Ranjor Singh ...	Dewan Jagirdar.	Bundela Rajput	42	1850	Son ...
Garrauli	... Parichat ...	Dewan Bahadur, Jagirdar.	Bundela Rajput	64	1831	.....
Gaurihar	... Rudar Singh (Lately deceased)	Rao Bahadur, Jagirdar.	Tiwari Brahman	67	1846	Son ...
Jaso	... Gujraj Singh ...	Dewan Bahadur, Jagirdar.	Bundela Rajput	23	1876	Son ...
Jigni	... Lachman Singh	Rao Bahadur, Jagirdar.	Bundela Rajput	18	1871	Adopted son

* Note by Political Agent.—As these jagirs are, in most cases, merely the remains of subsequently passed into our possession, no further requirement or cash tribute was imposed by 1862, succession and adoption were in some of them guaranteed without any condition of relief,

Bundelkhand Agency.

Area of State. Sq. M.	Popula- tion.	Revenue. Rs.	*Tribute, &c.	Engagements with Imperial Government.	REMARKS.
85	1,500	32,200	Relief of quarter of a year's net revenue payable on succession by adoption.	Sanad, 1808, confirming De-wan Pertab Singh and his posterity in possession of his estates; sanad of adoption, 1862.	
80	6,000	21,000	Relief on succession of direct heirs amounting to quarter of yearly net revenue; and on succession by adoption of half a year's net revenue.	Sanad of 1809 and sanad of adoption granted to Bismath Singh, 1862.	
15	5,000	13,000	Relief as in case of Beri; tribute of Rs. 1,000 on Mouza of Lohargong.	Sanad of 1807 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
12	6,000	11,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1812 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
27	8,000	12,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad, 1823, and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
4	5,000	5,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1823 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
18	8,000	12,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1823 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
60	6,000	16,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1812 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
72	12,000	50,000	No condition for relief in adoption sanad.	Sanad of 1807 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
74	7,000	14,000	Relief of Rs. 2,500 payable on all successions, whether lineal or adoptive.	Sanad of 1816 confirming Murat Singh in possession, and adoption sanad, 1862.	
17	4,000	14,000	Relief of a quarter of a year's net revenue payable on succession by adoption.	Sanad of 1810 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	

* formerly larger jagirs or States, the other portions of which were seized by the Mahrattas and us on their reduced limits when they came under us. When the adoption sanads were given in or Nazarana.

The Petty Chiefs of the

State.	Chief's Name.	Chief's Title.	Chief's Race.	Age in 1878.	Date of Succession.	Relation to Predecessor.
Kamta Rajola ...	Bharat Pershad	Rao Jagi-rdar.	Kayath ...	32	1878	Son ...
Khaniadhana ...	Chattar Singh ...	Raja ...	Bundela Rajput	14	1869	Son ...
Lugassi ...	Khet Singh ...	Rao Bahadur, Jagi-rdar.	Bundela Rajput	24	1872	Son ...
Naigawa Rebai ...	Lari Duliya ...	Jagirdarin, f a m i l y title Kuar.	Dewa Ahir ...	38	1867	Widow ...
Pahra ..	Radha Charan ...	Jagirdar ...	Chaubey Brahman.	21	1868	Adopted son
Paldeo ...	Anrudh Singh ...	Rao Bahadur, Jagi-rdar.	Chaubey Brahman.	40	1874	Brother ...
Sarila ...	Khallak Singh	Raja Bahadur.	Bundela Rajput	15	1873	Adopted son
Tiraon ...	Chattarbhuj ...	Jagirdar ...	Chaubey Brahman.	15	1872	Son ...
Tori Fattehpur ...	Prithvi Singh ...	Rao Bahadur, Jagi-rdar.	Bundela Rajput	30	1859	Adopted son

The Petty Chiefs of the

Kothi ...	Lalram Bahadur Singh.	Rais ...	Baghela Rajput	48	...	.....
Sehawal ...	Lal Sher Jang Bahadur Singh	Rais ...	Baghela Rajput	26	1865	Grandson...

Bundelkhand Agency.—(Contd.)

Area of State, Sq. M.	Population.	Revenue. Rs.	Tribute, &c.	Engagements with Imperial Government.	REMARKS.
4	2,000	3,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1812 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
84	8,000	20,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1862 and adoption sanad, 1862.	
40	5,000	10,000	No condition for relief in adoption sanad.	Sanad, 1808 ; sanad of adoption, 1862.	
16	3,360	10,375	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1807 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
10	4,000	13,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1823 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
28	8,000	20,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1812 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
35	6,000	30,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad, conferring 11 villages and confirming his title to Sarila, granted to Raja Tej Singh, 1807 ; sanad of adoption, 1862.	
12	3,000	11,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1812 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	
36	10,000	32,000	Relief as in case of Beri	Sanad of 1823 and sanad of adoption, 1862.	

Baghelkhand Agency.

90	7,000	34,000	Relief payable of a quarter of a year's net revenue on direct succession, and half a year's on adoption.	Confirmed in possession by sanad, 1810 ; sanad of adoption, 1862.
300	50,000	82,000	Relief payable on succession.	Confirmed in possession by sanad, 1843 ; sanad of adoption, 1862.

The Petty Chiefs

State.		Chief's Name.		Chief's Title.		Race.	Age in 1878.	Date of Succession.
Agra Barkhera	...	Balwant Singh	...	*Thakur	...	Rajput	51	...
Basoda Duria Kheri	...	Amar Ali Khan Ranjit Singh	...	Nawab Thakur	...	Pathan Rajput	48 45	1864 1870
Dhabla Dhir and Kankar-khera.		Chand Singh	...	Thakur	...	Rajput	41	1871
Dhabla Ghosi	...	Gopal Singh	...	Thakur	...	Rajput	57	1854
Hirapur	...	Chattar Singh	...	Rao	...	Rajput	55	...
Jhabria Bhil	...	Jamal Baksh	..	Jagirdar	...	...	29	1874
Jhalera Kamalpur	...	Datar Singh Moti Singh	...	Thakur Thakur	...	Rajput Rajput	...	1828
Kharsia	...	Moti Singh	...	Thakur	...	Rajput	50	1843
Kurwai	...	Najjaf Khan	...	Nawab	...	Pathan	54	1843
Larawad	...	Ram Chandra Rao...	.....			Puar Rajput	54	1849
Mahomedgarh	...	Hafiz Kuli Khan	...	Nawab	...	Pathan	52	...
Maksudangarh	...	Raghunath Singh	...	Raja	...	Khichi Raj-put.	29	...
Pathari	...	Abdul Karim Khan	Nawab		...	Pathan	26	1861
Ramgarh	...	Maddan Singh	...	Thakur	...	Rajput	80	1863
Sutalia	...	Sheodan Singh	...	Jagirdar	...	Rajput	50	...
Tappa	...	Takht Singh	...	Thakur	...	Rajput	...	1865

* These Thakurs are grassias.

of the Bhopal Agency.

Relation to Predecessor.	Area of State. Sq. M	Popula-tion.	Revenue. Rs.	Tribute. Rs	Engagements with Imperial Government.	REMARKS.
.....	...	4,219	7,000	...	Settlement made in 1818.	
Son	...	68	5,000	7,000	.....	Originally part of Kurwai.
Son	Settlement made in 1818.	
Distant relative.	Settlement made in 1818, and agreement mediated in 1831, for Kankarkhera.	
.....	Settlement made in 1818.	
.....	Engagement mediated in 1819.	
Son	Granted in 1826.	Conferred upon a brother of the Pindarry, Chitu, in commutation of pension.
Adopted son	
Adopted son	Agreement mediated in 1818.	
.....	Engagement mediated in 1818.	
Son	...	162	16,832	1,00,000	...	Immediately dependent on British Government.
Illegitimate son.	30	2,900	7,000	...	Mediatised in 1818.	
.....	80	2,938	7,000	...	Immediately dependent on British Government.	Originally part of Kurwai.
.....	120	10,231	30,988	...	.....
Son	...	22	4,380	12,000	Restored by mediation, 1830.	
Adopted son	Settlement made in 1819.	
Adopted son	Engagement mediated in 1825.	
Adopted son	Meditated in 1822.	

The Petty Chiefs under the

State.	Chief's Name.	Chief's Title.	Chief's Race.	Age in 1878.	Date of Succession.
Bhadaura	Mohan Singh	Raja	Sisodiya Rajput	67	...
Dharnaoda	Baril Singh	Thakur	Khichi Chohan Rajput...	...	...
Garra	Bijai Singh	Raja	Khichi Chohan Rajput ...	...	...
Parón	Man Singh	Raja	Kachwai Rajput	48	...
Ragughar	Jai Mandal Singh	Raja	Khichi Chohan Rajput...	57	1843
Sirsi	Bijai Bahadur	Dewan	Chohan Rajput	13	1872
Umri	Ranbir Singh	Raja	Sisodiya Rajput	31	1877

The Petty Chiefs of the

Ajraoda	Daulat Singh	Thakur	Rajput	31	...
Bardia	Dhokal Singh	Rao	Rajput	30	1865
Bichrōd	Gerwar Singh	Thakur	Rajput	47	...
Bichrōd	Rattan Singh	Thakur	Rajput	22	1873
Bileda	Jeswant Singh	Thakur	Rajput	24	...
Dabri	Bhairu Singh	Thakur	Rajput	47	...
Datana	Prithivi Singh	Thakur	Rajput	30	...
Dhulatia	Fatteh Singh	Thakur	Rajput	14	1868
Jawasia	Bhairu Singh	Thakur	Rajput	47	...
Kalukbera	Umeid Singh	Rao	Rajput	48	...
Lalgarh	Lachman Singh	Thakur	Rajput	52	...
Naugaon	Bharat Singh	Thakur	Rajput	44	...
Narwar	Hamir Singh	Thakur	Rajput	...	...
Naulana	Bhaggot Singh	Thakur	Rajput	27	1873
Panth Piploda	Janardan Wasudeo	.....	Brahman	26	1868
Piplia	Omkar Singh	Thakur	Rajput	52	...
Piploda	Duli Singh	Thakur	Rajput	27	1863
Sheogarh	Mozi Singh	Thakur	Rajput	21	1866
Sonkhera and Sirwan.	Gopal Singh	Thakur	Rajput	...	...

Political Assistant, Guna.

Relation to Predecessor.	Area of State. Sq. M.	Population.	Revenue. Rs.	Tribute, &c.	Engagements.	REMARKS
.....	12	10,400	7,000	...	Grant made by Daulat Rao-Sindia in 1820 through mediation of British Resident.	
.....	12	4,056	9,000	...	.....
.....	25	7,500	12,000	...	.....
.....	15½	6,249	12,000	...	.....
.....	14	12,000	24,000	...	.....
.....	25	7,000	4,000	...	.....
.....	10	2,066	5,000	...	.....
.....						

Western Malwa Agency.

Son	...	...	...	...	.....
Grandson	...	...	...	...	.....
Nephew	...	...	...	...	.....
Son	...	...	...	...	.....
Nephew	...	...	...	...	.....
Son	...	...	...	...	.....
Son	...	...	...	...	.....
Son	...	...	...	...	.....
Son	...	...	...	...	.....
Son	...	...	...	...	.....
Son	...	...	...	...	.....
Adopted son	60	8,000	1,10,000	Salim Sahi Rs. 28,000 paid as tribute to Jaora.	Malcolm mediatised in 1820 between this Chief and the Nawab of Jaora. In 1844 another engagement directly executed between the Nawab and Thakur.	Held directly from the British Go- vernment without the intervention of any Na- tive State & thus differs from all other States of this class.
Son	...	...	...	...	.....

APPENDIX.

Rules for the guidance of Officers under the Central India Agency in regard to the supply of carriage to troops.

I. When carriage is required for the passage of British troops through a Native State, written indents in the form prescribed in paragraphs 2,302 and 2,303 of the Bengal Army Regulations should be forwarded by the Military authorities to the Political Agent, so as to reach him at least 20 days before the date fixed for the march of the troops. Longer notice is required when the carriage has to be collected from, or sent to, considerable distances.

II. The Political Agent in communication with the Durbar will arrange for the supply of the carriage and inform the Indenting Officer of the extent to which his indent can be complied with. He will forward the carriage to the Indenting Officer, under the charge of a Durbar official, with an English letter specifying the said official's duties and the limit of his jurisdiction. The official so deputed must accompany the troops as long as they require carriage from his Durbar ; and any additional carriage required on the march must be procured through him. Payments should be made to, and receipts taken from, him in the manner prescribed in paragraphs 2,311 and 2,312 of the Bengal Army Regulations.

III. A statement as prescribed in paragraph 2,307 of the Bengal Army Regulations must be furnished by the Political Agent after consultation with the Durbar to the Indenting Officer, who may reject such carriage as he does not approve of, paying the full hire from the date the carriage is taken up until the date of rejection.

IV. The Political Agent must arrange with the Durbar for relief of the carriage at suitable places, communicating with the Political Agent of the State which the troops will enter on leaving his own, with a view to the relief of the carriage as near the limits of the State whence it was supplied as may be possible.

Certificates to owners of carts, &c. V. Certificates in the form prescribed in paragraph 2,313 of the Bengal Army Regulations must be furnished to each owner of the carts or camels by the Political Agent, who must arrange with the Durbar that these certificates serve as a protection against seizure on the way home for the use of troops.

Communication with landholders. VI. All communications with the Thakurs and headmen of villages should be conducted by Commanding Officers through the medium of the Durbar Official accompanying troops.

References. VII. The particular attention of Commanding Officers is directed to paragraph 2,309 of the Bengal Army Regulations.

Reference. VIII. The scale of baggage for which carriage will be furnished is given in revised paragraph 2,314 of the Bengal Army Regulations.

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PART II.

THE HOUSE OF HOLKAR.

PART II.

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H O L K A R

A U T H O R I T I E S . *

Malcolm's Central India.

„ *Political History of India.*

Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas.

Tod's Rajasthan.

The Agra Guide and Gazetteer, 1840. (*The account of the Holkar family in this volume was written by one of the Assistants to the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India.*)

Lithographed "Narrative of Events," prepared under the direction of SIR R. N. C. HAMILTON, Agent to the Governor-General for Central India.

Volume of Correspondence relating to Succession by Adoption, printed by order of the House of Commons in 1856.

Aitchison's Treaties and Engagements.

The Duke of Wellington's Indian Despatches.

* There are no original records of much importance. All the papers of the Holkar family were destroyed (in 1801, I believe) in a fire that occurred at Kotala, near Bhanpura. The Residency records were burnt in July, 1857.



1. H H THE. MAHARAJA HOLKAR, K.C.S.
2. SEVAJH RAO HOLKAR BALA SAHIB.
3. JESWANT RAO HOLKAR, BALA SAHIB.
4. RAO SIR KASI RAO DADA SAHIB, K.C.S.I
5. THE PAIACE, INDORE

THE INDORE AGENCY.

HOLKAR.

THE Holkars are a small clan, of *dhangars*,* or ^{The Holkar}*gadris*, belonging to the *Sudra* caste. At some remote period they are said to have emigrated from Gokal, near Mathura, and to have passed from there to the neighbourhood of Chittore in Mewar, where, perhaps, they were settled for several generations. From Chittore they moved to the Deckan, and for a time established themselves in the District of Aurangabad; but they finally occupied some lands on the banks of the River Nira, close to Phaltan, in Nimbalkar, and at a distance of about forty miles from Puna. It is after their settlement here that we first obtain authentic information regarding them.

The village of Hall† in this district gives its name ^{The village of Hall.} to the Holkars, or, more properly, the Halkars. The suffix *kar* signifies inhabitant, and occurs in the composition of many Mahrathi names, as, for example, in Nimbal-kar and Patan-kar.

Khandaji Holkar was eleventh in descent from one Khandaji Malhiba, who is described in the family pedigree as ^{Holkar, fa-}_{ther of Mal-} Deputy-Headman, or *Changula*, of Hall. Khandaji _{har Rao.} was a cultivator of the soil, a mere peasant, who laboured in the fields and eked out his scanty gains with blanket-weaving at home. We have no reason to suppose that either his circumstances or connections were such as to raise him in any degree above his fellow-villagers. He was just as they were. His

* Goatherds.

† In a note on the genealogical table procured by Sir C. Wade, Resident at Indore, the village is called Halmoram; and it is stated that the family name was at one time Virkar.

world was rounded by the few fields encircling the little mound of mud and grass huts where his people dwelt and had dwelt for generations : his wisdom was the traditional polity of the village, and the rude fragments of Hindu mythology that reach the poorer members of an abased caste. He lived in the time of our Stuart Kings, when Aurangzeb was Emperor of Delhi, and when the great Sevaji was establishing his empire in the Deckan.

Malhar Rao I.

Malhar Rao. Malhar Rao, the founder of the princely house of Holkar, was the only son of this peasant. He was born about the year 1693. His father died when he was between four and five years of age ; and his mother, owing to some difference with her husband's relations, left the village of Hall and threw herself upon the hospitality of her brother, Narayanji Bargul, who held some lands round the village of Talanda, in Khandaish, where he lived. Here young Malhar Rao was employed for some years in tending his uncle's sheep ; and, according to a family tradition, he was only released from this mode of life by the accident of a cobra being observed to interpose its hood between his face and the rays of the sun as he lay asleep in the fields. At first the circumstance excited alarm ; but subsequently the care of the sacred snake* for

**Boyhood, a
shepherd.**

* The cobra is held by the Hindus peculiarly sacred. There is much about the serpent gods with their jewelled hoods, &c., in the *Mahabharat*. The Scythic Naga worship is still a living faith throughout India. A festival, called *Naga-panchmi*, is still celebrated in honor of snakes about the end of June (*Sravana*). In the Parthenon at Athens, a black snake, looked upon as the guardian of the temple, and supposed to be animated by the soul of *Eriethonius*, was worshipped, and propitiated with offerings of honey-cake ; so in India, at the present day, a cobra is often regarded as the guardian deity of a household to be propitiated with *mantras* and food.

the young sleeper was favorably construed, and Narayanji, being resolved to give a better turn to the fortunes of his nephew, enrolled him in a body of twenty-five horsemen, which he kept in the service of his feudal lord, Kaddam Bandi, a Mahratta noble. The fact of his being able to raise and maintain even so small a force of cavalry would seem to imply that ^{Youth, a} Narayanji Bargul occupied a social position above that of the mere villager who tilled the land with his own hands : yet such is not necessarily the case. Narayanji was, no doubt, wealthier than most of his people ; still he appears to have belonged to the class of labouring cultivators, for his sister was married to one, and his own nephew, living in his house, was employed in the fields for some years. It is difficult for us to see these things from an Indian stand-point. In the Deckan, in Central India, and in Rajputana, it is a frequent occurrence for a child to be taken from the mud hut of a peasant to the palace of ^{Vicissitudes of fortune.} a Chief, there to be adopted and to be seated on the gaddi.* Uncles and cousins remain in the village working with their cattle, and thinking nothing of the young relative who has been snatched away to a different sphere of life. Kinsmen of the Chiefs of

* As an example of this I will quote a letter from the Political Officer in charge of the Gwalior Residency, to the Secretary to the Government of India, dated October 26th, 1826, relative to the adoption of an heir to the Maharaja Daulat Rao Sindia.—“The man whom we should consider the next heir is Piraji. I understand that he is now living at Ranurkair in the Deckan on the produce of his plough. The next is Pattoba. I hear he gets four or five rupees per month for food, and occasional presents, which make up his annual income to about one hundred and fifty rupees. He has a son, Mugat Rao, aged nine years.” This boy, Mugat Rao, was selected, and became “His Highness the Maharaja Ali Jankoji Sindia.” It would be easy to multiply similar instances.

Baroda, Gwalior, Dhar, and Dewas might be pointed to at the present time laboring in the fields, and differing in no respect from the ordinary peasantry. Indeed, among the Mahratta Chiefs the village origin is recollected with a kind of honest pride. Madhaji Sindia liked to be styled "Patel,"* and the proudest Gaikwar or Puar values the hereditary claim he has to the headship of certain villages in the country of his forefathers.

Malhar Rao soon showed that his uncle had made no mistake in raising him to the position of a cavalry soldier. His energy and activity quickly brought him to notice, and when in an engagement with the Nizam's army he slew a commander of consequence, he at once rose to distinction. His uncle, Narayanji, now gave him his daughter, Gotama Bai, in marriage. The union proved a happy one ; and this lady† afterwards became a very important political personage as Malhar Rao Holkar's sole wife. While still serving with this little troop of cavalry which his uncle furnished for the service of Khandaji Kaddam Bandi, a party of the Peishwa's cavalry, on their way to Malwa, attempted to pass over his master's‡ lands. Malhar Rao disputed their passage and exhibited so much dash and courage as to attract the notice of the Peishwa,

* A family motto runs thus: "Patel nam Dhari : Maharajya dhikari."

† The family of Bargul is now extinct. Gotama Bai's only brother took service with the Rana of Udaipur and obtained a jagir, which descended to his son Bouj Rao and to his grandsons Mugaji and Shamkar Rao. Ultimately the jagir was resumed, and after the peace of Mandesör, the family was stripped of all their possessions, the last member of it dying in great poverty in 1821 or 1822.

‡ One version of the story is, that at this time Malhar Rao was in the service of the Rana of Barwani and gallantly helped that Chief to resist the inroads of the Peishwa's cavalry, attracting the notice of his countrymen against whom he fought by his conspicuous valour.

Marriage :
Gotama Bai.

Attracts the
notice of the
Peishwa.

who induced him to join his service as a commander of 500 horse. Khandaji Kaddam was delighted with the greater prospects that were thus opened up before the young trooper who had served him so well ; and he permitted him to assume the standard* of the Bandi family, a triangular flag, striped red and white, and surmounted by pennants. These colors are still borne before the chiefs of the House of Holkar, and float above the great gateway of their palace at Indore.

Assumes the
Bandi colors.

Malhar Rao's advancement to high command was now rapid. He would appear to have joined the Peishwa's service about the year 1724 ; and in 1728 he was rewarded for important services by the grant of twelve districts (or *mahals*) in Malwa. To these, Receives lands in Malwa, 1731. seventy districts were added in 1731, and all the Peishwa's possessions north of the Narbadda were committed to his care with every circumstance of honour, the commission being drawn out in his master's own hand. In the following year, associated in command with Baji Rao's brother, Chimnaji, he defeated the imperial governor of Malwa, Deia Ram Bahadur, who was slain in the engagement.

Before the Mahrattas ascended the Vindhya, Malhar Rao had obtained possession of several districts in the valley of the Narbadda, and the town of Mahesar. Mahesar in Nimar began to be looked upon as his head-quarters, and continued to be for upwards of fifty years the principal residence of his family.

In 1733 Indore, with a large tract of country Indore, 1733. around, was assigned to Malhar Rao for the support

* This standard is also borne by the Maharajas Gaikwar, who owe much of their greatness to the Bandi family.

of the troops under his command ; and he was directed by the Peishwa to collect, in conjunction with Ranoji Sindia, on account of the usual claims made by the Mahrattas on conquered provinces, thirty-five per cent. of the revenue of Malwa.* These commanders pledged themselves to transmit to Puna one lakh and five thousand rupees the first year, one lakh and ten thousand the second, and ever after one lakh and twenty-five thousand, dividing the remainder equally between themselves.

Campaign
against
Nizam, 1738.

Of Malhar Rao's campaign against the Nizam-ul-Mulk (1738); of his expulsion of the Portuguese from Bassein (1739); of the defeat he sustained at the hands of Barhan-ul-Mulk, the imperial commander, near Agra ; of the subsequent guerilla war he carried on in Hindustan, Rajputana, and Central India ; and of the aid he rendered Vizier Safdar Jang in defending Oude against the Rohillas (1751),—it is not necessary to speak in detail. It is sufficient to say that while constantly engaged, either for the Peishwa, or on his own behalf, in partisan and predatory warfare, his possessions and influence rapidly increased, until he attained an unquestioned position among the foremost chiefs, or *mankuries*,† of the Mahratta empire militant. The value of the assignments he had received from

* " The whole of Malwa, estimated at about one hundred and fifty lakhs of annual revenue was, with the exception of about ten lakhs, divided between Holkar and Sindia,—that is seventy-four and a half lakhs were conferred on the former, and sixty-five and a half lakhs on the latter. " The remaining ten lakhs were held by various jagirdars, of whom " Anand Rao Puar was the most considerable."—*Grant Duff*.

† *Mankuri* literally means great man. It was originally applied to those who had been commanders under the Mahomedan monarchies ; but latterly to every Mahratta at the head of a body of horse.—*Grant Duff*.

Campaign
against
Rohillas, 1751.

the Peishwa in Malwa for the support of troops amounted to four million rupees a year; his assignments in the Deckan yielded two million rupees; and his contingent was fixed at fifteen thousand sabres. The Emperor of Delhi conferred upon him the title and dues appertaining to the Sardeshmukhi of Chandore in Khandeish, and the Peishwa named him Subadar of Malwa, a distinction proudly borne through many vicissitudes of fortune by his successors.

Deshmukh
of Chandore,
and Subadar
of Malwa.

The incursions of the Afghans under Ahmad Shah ^{War in Hindustan, 1759.} Abdalli were now of yearly occurrence; and the Mahrattas were expelled from the Punjab. Dattoji Sindia had been slain (1759), and Malhar Rao was sent up to the front to uphold Mahratta interests. Shortly before the battle of Panipat he was surprised and completely routed at Sikandra by a body of Afghan horse; but before that great and decisive battle which determined the empire of the Mahrattas, Malhar Rao had re-formed his army and was again as formidable as he had been at any period of his career.

It has been affirmed that at Panipat* (1761) Malhar ^{Panipat, 1761.} Rao having been slighted by "the Bhao" did not fight with his old spirit. Indeed, it is asserted that his troops were never engaged at all in the main action, though in the preceding skirmishes they had fought with distinction, being once worsted, but subsequently inflicting a severe blow on the enemy. Anyhow it would seem that from an early

* I have before me Vol. III of the Asiatic Researches (1799) containing at p. 91 a translation of an account of the battle of Panipat, written in Persian by Casi Raja Pandit, who was present at the battle. From this it appears that Jankoji Sindia's contingent of 10,000 horse was on the right of the Mahratta line of battle; next came Malhar Rao with his 5,000; and on his left, Shamsher Bahadur, with 3,000.

hour he foresaw the event of the battle, and it is certain that before retreat had turned into rout, he alone of the Mahratta chiefs withdrew his forces (a picked body of 5,000 horse) in some order ; and then retired to the west.

Old age.

He was now upwards of seventy years of age. From boyhood his life had been passed amidst quick recurring scenes of thrilling excitement, danger, and activity. He had played a leading part in all the great revolutions and turmoils of the past fifty years. Wherever the sky was dark, wherever the roar of the tempest was heard, there the squadrons of the great Mahratta captain might ever be seen flashing from thunder cloud to thunder cloud. His operations were confined to no province. He swept along from the Deckan to Oude, from Oude to the Punjab, from the Punjab to Rajputana, from Rajputana to Malwa, and from Malwa to Khandaish ; and as he moved along on this wild orbit of desolation, his fame, his wealth, and his horde of cavalry steadily increased. At the time of which we are now speaking his possessions were of vast extent. He had great domains in the Deckan ; a large estate in Khandaish, —nearly the whole of the province indeed,—townships and forts in the valley of the Narbadda ; castles among the jungles of the Satpura hills, and on the bleak slopes of the Vindhya mountains ; and above, on the table-land, far spreading territories in Malwa. The ancient Rajput kingdom of Ambar, or Jaipur* as it is now called, paid him the honours due to a feudal suzerain. On the disputes which occurred

Great domains.

* Still more properly Dhundar.

at the death of Raja Jai Singh, Malhar Rao had stepped in, espoused the cause of Madhu Singh, and placed him on the throne. Madhu Singh, in return, gave his benefactor a sum of seventy-six lakhs of rupees, ceded to him the districts of Tonk, Rampura, Tora, and Potta, and agreed to pay him an annual tribute of three lakhs and a half of rupees. But these surprising acquisitions and boundless claims had never been reduced to coherence and order; so from the disastrous field of Panipat the aged commander now turned away to address himself to the great and arduous task of forming out of many feudal demands and scattered possessions a compact principality. That he was by no means unsuccessful in its accomplishment we may judge from the comparative ease with which the wise and amiable Princess, who virtually succeeded him, took up the many threads of the administration.

Malhar Rao died in 1765,* leaving an imperishable name in the annals of his countrymen. His remains were interred at a place in the District of Alampur, about forty miles from Gwalior, named, in honor of him, Malharganj. For generosity, for simplicity of manners, for unswerving faith to the Mahratta confederacy and its head, the Peishwa, for that wild, uncalculating courage which becomes the cavalry leader in rude times, and for steadfast adherence to a purpose once formed, this famous captain stands first among the Mahratta chiefs. As a statesman, Malcolm ranks him below Madhaji Sindia, but allows

* Malleson says, "Malhar Rao first saw the light about 1693" (p. 176, Native States). "He died in 1765 at the ripe age of 76." How is this? Malcolm in a note conjectures that he was born in 1693, states in the text, p. 155, that he died at 76 years of age, and refers to the date of 1766 as that of Ahalia Bai's succession!

Sagacity.

that his administration of the provinces under his direct control was firm and wise ; and that towards dependent chiefs he exercised a conciliatory policy, and by his good faith and moderation won their respect and gratitude. Notwithstanding the extraordinary fortune he amassed, his personal disregard for money was remarkable. His adherents frequently remonstrated with him on his lavishness, as in moments of enthusiastic admiration for gallantry, or at the turn of victory in battle, he would order immense largess to be distributed among his people.

Generosity.

Mali Rao.

**Khandi Rao,
son of Malhar
Rao.**

Malhar Rao had only one son, Khandi Rao; who, some years before the battle of Panipat, was killed at the siege of Kambhir, a place situated between Dig and Bharatpur.* He had married into a family of the name of Sindia, and by his wife, Ahalia Bai, had one son and one daughter. The son, Mali Rao, was of weak and unsettled intellect; but before the death of his father he had evinced no positive symptom of insanity. Raghoba Dada, uncle of the then Peishwa, and commander of the Mahratta armies in Central India, now sent him a dress of honour, recognizing him by this act as the successor of his grandfather.

**Mali Rao,
son of Khandi
Rao.**

* "Nawal Singh, grandson of Suraj Mall, was at this period Raja of Bharatpur. After he made peace with Malhar Rao, a mausoleum, or chattari, was built in honor of Khandi Rao, and the revenue of five villages assigned as a charity for the support of the Brshmans who attend it and pray for the deceased. The feeling of all Mahrattas towards the Jats of Bharatpur is strong, from a recollection which still exists of the protection the Raja of that place afforded their ancestors after the disastrous battle of Panipat. He not only clothed and fed the fugitives who came to his territories, but furnished them with means of reaching their homes in the Deckan. In consequence, there is hardly a family of any note in this nation that has not a tradition of a debt of gratitude to the Jats of Bharatpur."—*Malcolm's Central India*, p. 157.

From this time the evidence of his disorder became more apparent. His conduct was marked by the utmost folly, which daily increased, and which descended at length into pronounced madness. He took a malicious delight in tormenting the Brahmans about the court, for whom he had conceived the unreasoning aversion of a lunatic. He amused himself by placing scorpions in their clothes and slippers, and in the vessels used for the distribution of alms. At length he became furious; and ultimately died a raving madman, to the great relief of all classes, who firmly believed him to be possessed of a devil. He only reigned for nine months. Although the machinery of Government was, undoubtedly, during this period kept in working order by the great talents and energy of his mother, yet the fact of this unhappy boy being allowed to hold even the nominal chiefship shows how firmly Malhar Rao had established the supremacy of his family.

Ahalia Bai.

Khandi Rao's daughter* had been married into another family, and, according to Hindu usage, had forfeited her claim to participate in the sovereign honours of her father's house; so Gangadhar Jeswant,† the Brahman Minister of the late Malhar Rao, strongly urged the adoption of some boy of the Holkar tribe. This proposition was combined with the offer of ample allowances for Ahalia Bai; and a large nazar-

* Muchta Bai, married to Jeswant Rao Phansia. She died on the funeral pyre with her husband, in presence of her mother, who had done all in her power to dissuade her from the sacrifice.

† Gangadhar Jeswant had been appointed to this office by Baji Rao Peishwa on Malhar Rao's first receiving high command.

Mali Rao's insanity.
Death of Mali Rao.
Ahalia Bai, wife of Khandi Rao, 1766.
urged to adopt an heir.

ana, or relief, to Raghoba Dada, in the event of his acceding to the arrangement.

Raghoba Dada readily acceded to it: but Ahalia Bai, altogether repudiating the minister's interference and the right of Raghoba Dada to a voice in the matter, asserted her exclusive privilege, as mother of the last chief, to select his successor. Her resolution was evidently taken after due deliberation. The great Mahratta chiefs had been won over to her side, and when Raghoba threatened an appeal to arms, she sternly warned him to beware how he led his master's troops to dishonour. Every preparation was made at the same time to resist interference; and the Holkar troops, enthusiastic in her cause, were eager for war. But Madhaji Sindia and Jankoji Bhonslé refused to support Raghoba; and at length a letter arrived from the Peishwa recognizing the rights of Ahalia Bai, and definitively turning the scales in her favour.

Ahalia Bai
selects Tukaji
Rao Holkar
as her com-
mander, 1767.

In her first public act Ahalia Bai gave proof of that practical wisdom which characterised the whole of her career. She chose, to command her troops, and to perform the more public and ceremonial functions of the chiefship for which her sex unfitted her, a commander of approved judgment and fidelity, who had long served the great Malhar Rao, and who had latterly commanded his body-guard. This was Tukaji, a member of the Holkar tribe,* but in no way related to his master's family. A plain Mahratta soldier, honest, fearless, unobtrusive, and unambitious, he had long ago won the respect of all parties, so that now his

Tukaji's
character.

* In the appended genealogical table a relationship is traced; and this relationship has always been upheld by the ruling family with a view to giving coherence to their succession list: but Sir John Malcolm emphatically affirmed (p. 163, "Central India") that no such affinity existed.

great advancement excited neither criticism nor envy. Soon after this appointment was made Raghoba was obliged to go to Puna, and Ahalia Bai, forgetting the past, invited him to take the route by Mahesar. He stayed for some days in her capital, and was most hospitably entertained. On leaving, Tukaji, in command of the contingent which the family was bound to furnish to the Peishwa, was ordered to accompany him, and they proceeded together to the Mahratta metropolis. Here Tukaji proceeds to Puna. Tukaji paid to the Peishwa* a nazar of Rs. 15,62,000, and in return was confirmed in his high dignities and invested with robes of honor. The new order of things being now firmly established, Gangadhar was restored to favour and office. These well-timed, deliberate, and conciliatory measures strike the key-note of Ahalia Bai's policy. It was thus that for thirty years she preserved and extended the credit and influence of the dynasty founded by Malhar Rao.

It will be necessary now to examine the exact relations that subsisted between Ahalia Bai and Tukaji, between Ahalia Bai and Tukaji. in order to determine how the sovereign powers of the State were divided. Sir John Malcolm says— “Ahalia Bai had chosen Tukaji to be the titled head of the sovereignty,” and we know that, by her orders, he was styled on the seals “Tukaji, Legend on the seals. the son of Malhar Rao Holkar;” and that he frequently addressed her as “mother,” notwithstanding that she was much the younger of the two. All this points to an adoption. According to the immemorial usage of the Hindús, Ahalia Bai had the right of adopting an heir to her son's State. Was her Was Tukaji adopted?

* History of the Mahrattas, by Grant Duff, (3rd ed., 1873), p. 339.

selection of Tukaji then such an adoption? In important external forms it would seem to have been so; but practically she retained a position very different from that of the ordinary Ma-Sahiba, or Queen Dowager. Tukaji referred to her every question in which the general interests of the State were concerned; and, when in the Deccan, he acted only as a medium of correspondence between her and the Peishwa; while in his absence another minister took his place as her representative. Other envoys, directly deputed by her, resided at Haidarabad, Saringapataan, Nagpur, Lucknow, and Calcutta; and inferior agents acting in her name remained at the courts of the petty Rajas with whom there was occasion for correspondence. She managed directly the family dominions in Malwa and Nimar, receiving both revenue and tribute; and the family treasure, which amounted to about two millions sterling, besides private estates yielding nearly four lakhs of rupees a year remained entirely in her hands. She exercised, moreover, a general supervision over all the State accounts which were kept with scrupulous exactness; and in all questions of peace and war she was appealed to as supreme. When in the Deccan (and he remained there once for twelve years) all the territories of the family south of the Satpura Hills were managed by Tukaji; but his position was, perhaps, rather that of a governor than a prince; for, during his expeditions in Hindustan, the immediate government of these provinces was resumed by Ahalia Bai. The truth seems to be that it was never necessary to formulate or define the respective authority and status of Ahalia Bai and Tukaji. Their mutual confidence, and respect, the piety and lofty principles of the Queen,

Tukaji's
subordina-
tion.

Ahelia Bai's
authority.

Relations
between Aha-
lia Bai and
Tukaji unde-
fined.

the dutiful and unambitious characters of the Commander, and the distance that lay between their spheres of action, prevented jealousy and encroachment. Malcolm thus sums up the question: "It appears that Ahalia Bai was the actual head of the Government, and that Tukaji, gratified by his high station and her complete confidence, continued during her life to exercise no duties beyond those of commander-in-chief, and collector of revenues, where his vicinity enabled him to realize them with more convenience than any other agent of her administration."

Ahelia Bai devoted herself to the duties of Government with the earnestness and scrupulous regularity of one whose conduct is ordered by a high sense of duty. She gave six hours daily,—from two to six and from nine to eleven P. M.,—to the personal transaction of public business. During these hours she sat in Durbar, listening to complaints and reviewing the current work of every branch of the administration. Her assessments were moderate ; and she entertained an almost sacred respect for the immemorial rights of village officers and the proprietors of the soil. Although receiving every petition, and investigating the subject of it herself, she continually referred important causes to courts of equity and arbitration, or to her ministers ; and so strong was her sense of duty, that she is represented as having been quite unwearied in the re-examination of the pettiest cases appealed to her.

An aged personal attendant of Ahalia Bai's gave Sir John Malcolm a minute account of the manner in which this exemplary princess used to spend her day. She rose an hour before day-break, and engaged

in prayer. After the performance of certain religious ceremonies, she* heard the sacred volumes read for a fixed period, distributed alms, and gave food to a number of mendicant Brahmans with her own hand. She then breakfasted. Her fare was of the simplest kind; and although no such restriction was imposed on her caste, she abjured all animal food. After breakfast, she returned to her devotions, and afterwards withdrew for a short period of repose. On rising and dressing, she went, about two o'clock, to the Durbar, where she usually remained until six in the evening. The duties of the Durbar were succeeded by religious exercises, lasting for two or three hours, until a frugal supper was served up, after which she returned to business, usually at about nine o'clock, and continued at work till eleven, when she retired to rest. This severe regimen of conduct, marked by long hours of prayer, abstinence, and labour, knew little variation, save that occasioned by the recurring festivals of her religion, which she observed with scrupulous regularity.

Considering the stormy age in which she lived, it is a remarkable testimony to the success of her administration that, except on one occasion, none of her neighbours ever dared to invade her territory. The exception referred to was a sudden raid made by Alsi, Rana of Udaipur, to assist some of his people who had seized Rampura. This act of aggression was promptly punished. Ahalia Bai detached a force under Sharif Bai, the commander of her guards, who surprised and defeated the invaders at the village of Pal-

Rana of
Udaipur
makes an in-
cursion into
Holkar terri-
tory.

* Ahalia Bai was herself able to read the Purans.

sora, twenty-four miles north of Mandessôr, and compelled the Rana to sue for peace.

To one powerful ally is, no doubt, due some measure of the immunity from internal distraction and external hostility which Ahalia Bai enjoyed. Ahelia Bai supported by Madhaji Sindia. Madhaji Sindia was from the first her firm friend. His managers and agents were everywhere laid under strict injunction to support her authority, and from the way in which the numerous enclaves of the two States were intermixed, this support must have been a source of much strength. It does not appear how Madhaji Sindia's countenance was first obtained ; but we have reason to suppose that it was not lent from purely disinterested and chivalrous motives. We know that he received from her at one time a loan* of thirty lakhs of rupees ; and although a bond was given, there is no record of its ever having been redeemed.

Ahelia Bai's great happiness in life was to promote the prosperity of all around her. Ahelia Bai's disinterested policy. She rejoiced when she saw bankers, merchants, farmers, and cultivators rise to affluence ; and so far from regarding their improved circumstances as a ground for exaction, she deemed it a new claim upon her favour and protection. Many instances of this are on record ; and one case preserved by Malcolm, and supported by the most unassailable evidence, is worth relating. Sabh Khem Dass, a wealthy banker of Seronge,† died without direct heirs. The Governor of the city

* In addition to this loan, Hirkar Bai, or Mossia Bai as she was often called, the favourite concubine of Malhar Rao, advanced Madhaji when he was in distress six lakhs of rupees.

† This word is a corruption of Sher Ganj ; the ganj, or cantonment of the Emperor Sher Shah.

demanded a present, or fine, of three lakhs of rupees from the surviving members of the family, threatening to confiscate the property unless it were paid. The widow, according to immemorial custom, desired to adopt as heir to her husband a nephew, but the Governor peremptorily refused permission. A large party of relatives and friends, including the widow and nephew, accordingly set out for Mahesar to appeal. Ahalia Bai received them on the day of their arrival and heard their complaint. Admitting at once the gross injustice of the demand made, she removed the Governor from his office, confirmed the adoption, and refused to accept the smallest relief, or nazarana. Taking the adopted child upon her knee, she gave him a handsome present of clothes, jewels, and a palanquin, and sent the party back to their homes with many expressions of sympathy and kindness.

The petty
Chiefs.

Her relations with the tributary and Grassia Rajas,* and with the petty Bhil Chiefs of the Vindhyas and Gond Chiefs of the Narbadda Valley, were marked by a spirit at once conciliatory and resolute. She recognised all their just and ancient rights, and by her kindness and moderation often reclaimed them from a life of turbulence and plunder ; but with the recalcitrant she took rigorous measures, and occasionally made examples of incorrigible offenders† against peace and order by putting them to death.

* Grassia, from Sanskrit *grass*, a mouthful. Grassia Chiefs are those who, driven from their possessions by invaders—in the case of Malwa Rajputs driven from their holdings by Mahrattas—have established and maintained a claim to a share of the revenue, upon the ground of their power to disturb or delay its collection.—*Malcolm*, Vol. I, p. 508.

† Amongst these was Mandrup Singh, a noted freebooter, whose strong-hold was Sillani, on the banks of the Narbadda. His descendants afterwards gave General Malcolm much anxiety and trouble.

A considerable portion of the great wealth at the disposal of this remarkable woman was spent in the ^{Ahala Bai's} ~~charities~~ erection of religious edifices and in gifts to Brahmans. Temples in every part of India attest to her munificence. Close to the snow line, on the sacred slopes of Kedarnath, a building for the accommodation of pilgrims and a reservoir of water for their use still preserve the memory of Ahalia Bai; and far away, in the warm south, under the palm-trees of Ramesaram,* Brahmans, supported on establishments endowed by her, still mutter their prayers and charms, with tinkling bells and dripping garlands. At Gaya, where she devoted great sums to religious and charitable purposes, her sculptured figure, adoring the image of Mahadeva, is placed in close proximity to the statues of the deified hero and heroine, Ramechandra and Sita.

This sketch of the administration of Ahalia Bai may be fitly concluded by a passage in which Sir John Malcolm sums up his estimate of her character : "It is an extraordinary picture, a female without vanity, a bigot without intolerance; a mind imbued with the deepest superstition yet receiving no im- "pressions except what promoted the happiness of "those under its influence; a being exercising, in "the most active and able manner, despotic power, "not merely with sincere humility, but under the "severest moral restraint that a strict conscience

Sir J. Mal-
colm's esti-
mate of Aha-
lia Bai's
character.

* It testifies to the admirable precautions taken by Ahalia Bai to give security and permanence to these endowments, that to this day the interest of the money originally granted is faithfully dispensed in her name. The Holkar family have no complete record of her charities; nor do they exercise any control over them. If her charity had proceeded from base motives, it is probable that she would have left some record of her gifts.

“ could impose on human action ; and all this combined with the greatest indulgence for the weakness and faults of others. In the most sober view that can be taken of her character, she certainly appears, within her limited sphere, to have been one of the purest and most exemplary rulers that ever existed.”

Death of
Ahalia Bai,
1795

She died at the age of sixty, worn out with care and fatigue. Though never handsome, her complexion, which was of a dark olive, was clear ; and her countenance is described as having been to the last agreeable and expressive of that purity of thought and purpose which marked every action of her life. When the beautiful, but infamous, Anantia Bai, wife of Raghoba, and mother of Baji Rao Peishwa, was at Dhar, envious of the fame of the Holkar Queen, and moved by a woman’s curiosity, she sent a female attendant to Mahesar to report on Ahalia Bai’s appearance : the woman is reported to have said, on her return, “ she has not beautiful features, but a heavenly light* is on her countenance.”

Tukaji Rao.

The career
of Tukaji.

Panipat.

We must now turn for a moment to the career of Tukaji. It has been stated that he accompanied Raghoba to Puna to do homage to the Peishwa ; but his stay in the Deckan was brief. Nazib-ud-Daula, the Rohilla chief, had been the most formidable and relentless enemy of the Mahrattas at Panipat. It was in great measure due to his combinations and to his inflexible resolution that the Mahrattas were

* “ But yet a spirit still and bright,
With something of an *angel light*.” — *Wordsworth*.

defeated ; and it was owing subsequently to his bitter hostility to the Sindia family that gallant young Jankoji, taken prisoner sorely wounded, was put to death.* The Mahratta chiefs now longed to avenge the wrongs they had received at his hands, and Rama Chandra Ganesa, Beniwala,† led a force of sixty thousand light horse, many of whom are said to have been Pindarries,‡ against Nazibabad, the stronghold of the Rohilla's family. But Tukaji, who had joined the ^{Accommodation with Nazib Khan.} expedition, opened up a correspondence with the Mahomedan camp on the ground of Nazib-ud-Daula's ancient friendship with Malhar Rao. This measure was approved by Rama Chandra, but strongly opposed by Madhaji Sindia, who clamoured for revenge. "I require," he said, "for the Peishwa the country ^{Sindia's remonstrance.} possessed by this chief and the Afghans. I demand "for myself the blood of my brother, of my nephews, "and my own leg, of all use of which I am deprived. "Nor will I abandon my hopes of vengeance because "Tukaji Holkar chooses to make a brother of this "noble. You may write, however, to the Peishwa

* It is said, with circumstances of great barbarity, his wounds being poisoned.—*Asiatic Researches*, Vol. III. (1799). p. 129.

† Quartermaster-General of the Mahratta armies.

‡ The Pindarries were loose hordes of predatory horsemen that sprang from the social decomposition consequent on the dissolution of the Mahomedan empire, and the widespread ravages of the Mahrattas. Ill-mounted, ill-fed, ill-armed, these Pindarries, nevertheless, made themselves a terrible scourge. They travelled with extraordinary rapidity, they dissolved on the approach of a hostile force, and re-assembled to continue their evil courses. They usually hunted on the outskirts of the great Mahratta hosts, and in return for the countenance and license allowed them, submitted from time to time to disgorge part of their spoil. Occasionally they prowled about on their own account in formidable packs, and it was while thus separated that they were finally dispersed in 1818 by an admirable combination of rapid military movements organised by General Malcolm.

16363.

"at Puna, and if he sanctions such proceedings, I am a servant and shall obey."*

Tukaji's policy was followed. The Mahratta leaders agreed to make peace with the Rohilla chieftain, on condition that he would allow them to levy, undisturbed, tribute and dues from the Rajputs and Jats. The condition was complied with, and the Mahrattas proceeded against the Hindu chiefs, sparing no one, and even plundering their friends in Bharatpur, who had given shelter and assistance to many of their countrymen on their flight from Panipat. During this expedition Madhaji Sindia rose to great wealth and power, becoming the virtual sovereign of Delhi ; but Tukaji, more moderate and less ambitious, returned to Malwa, having made little or no addition to the possessions of the Holkar family.

The "Barha Bhai." The death of Madhu Rao Peishwa, and the assassination of his younger brother Narayan Rao by Raghoba Dada, now led all the Mahratta chiefs back to their own country. The celebrated confederacy of the "Barha Bhai"† who combined against the murderer, was joined by Tukaji, and led him and Madhaji Sindia into collision with the British Government.‡ The material results of this—

* From a translation of a Persian manuscript written for Sir C. Mallet by Mir-ud-din Hossein Khan, father of Nawab Kunal-ud-din, a commander in Gaikwar's service, who gave it to Sir John Malcolm.

† The phrase "Barha Bhai" is merely conventional ; and is applied to a confederacy without reference to the number twelve. Grant Duff says that the Mahrattas apply the phrase to any body or government disorganised.

‡ The British power was, as Malcolm justly observes, at this time associated with the cause of guilt and usurpation.

the first Maharatta war—were set forth in the Treaty ^{Treaty of} _{Salbai, 1782.} of Salbai, 1782, of which we shall have more to say when speaking of the House of Sindia.

Subsequently, in the war carried on by the Peishwa, ^{Warw ith} _{Tippu.} in alliance with the Nizam, against Tippu Sultan,

Tukaji played a conspicuous part, and on its conclusion, proceeded to Mahesar (1785-86) to pay his respects to Ahalia Bai. Here, however, he did not remain long, for we soon find him again in the field; this time to the north of the Narbadda, taking part in the operations which resulted in establishing the power of Ali Bahadur* in Bundelkhand, and that of Madhaji Sindia over the whole of Hindustan. It

^{Ali Bahadur and Madhaji Sindia, 1792.}

was at this time that the services of the Chevalier Dudernaic were employed, and that regular troops

were employed by the Holkar State for the first time. Tukaji's force in this campaign, however, bore no pro-

portion to Sindia's, and the former's share in the spoil

^{Division of the spoil.}

was accordingly small. Nevertheless, he renewed a claim, first disputed between Ranoji Sindia and Malhar Rao Holkar, to an equal share of the conquered territory; and at a settlement of accounts, some districts were nominally granted to Tukaji to liquidate the acknowledged balance due to the family he represented. But Sindia's greatly superior forces and wealth, and his preponderating influence at Puna, ren-

dered the cession practically null and void; and on his going to the Deckan to strengthen his interest at

* Ali Bahadur was the illegitimate son of Baji Rao Peishwa by a Mahomedan concubine. His son, Shamsher Bahadur, pensioned by the British Government, and allowed to reside in Banda, was commonly spoken of as the 'Nawab of Banda,' a title still sometimes employed to designate the representative of the family.

Lakheri,
1792.

the Peishwa's Court, Tukaji, dissatisfied with the way in which he had been treated, became involved in disputes with his rival's commanders and agents, which led to an engagement in the Pass of Lakheri* near Ajmir, where he was defeated by the infantry of Deboigne. This engagement was fraught with no important consequences. Sindia's troops returned to Upper India, and those of Tukaji continued their march to Indore and Mahesar, only waiting to sack Ujjain on the way. The quarrel was one between Tukaji and Madhaji's commander, rather than between the Sindia and Holkar families; for we know that soon afterwards Tukaji and Madhaji carried on the most friendly and intimate correspondence.

War with
the Nizam,
1794.

Tukaji now (1794) remained but a few months in Malwa, when he was summoned to join the last gathering of the great Mahratta chiefs that ever assembled at Puna. The object of the gathering was a general attack upon the dominions of Nizam Ali Khan, who had neglected to pay the tribute agreed upon after the battle of Udgir. The result of the attack was the defeat of the Mahomedans at Kurdla (1795). They were seized with an unaccountable panic and fled before the Mahrattas had made any impression on their ranks.

Kurdla.
1795.

Madhaji Sindia was now dead,† and the venerable Tukaji, seventy years of age, was looked up to by the Mahrattas with the greatest respect as one who had

* The defeat of Tukaji has been attributed by some to the treachery of Kasi Rao and Bappu Holkar, his son and nephew. But Mahrattas have a way of clamouring, *nous sommes trahis*, when they are defeated. For an account of the battle, see Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas, p. 501.

† He died in 1794.

for half a century shared in the glories and the misfortunes of his country, and had ever proved himself brave, moderate, just, and faithful to his master at Puna and to his mistress at Mahesar ; and if in the intriguing diplomacy that followed the defeat of the Nizam and the death of Madhu Rao Peishwa, he acted a subordinate part, appearing rather as a supporter of Daulat Rao Sindia than as one who had independent interests and an independent voice in anything that concerned the great confederacy, this was attributed to the infirmities of age which rendered him incapable of much exertion.

Tukaji Rao only survived Ahalia Bai two years. Death of Tukaji, 1797. During that period he ruled with undisputed sway over all the territories of the Holkar family. He died in 1797.—“We are greatly prepossessed,” writes Sir John Malcolm, “in favour of Tukaji, by the temper, “gratitude and obedience which he evinced to Ahalia “Bai. He left behind him the character of a good “soldier, a plain, unaffected man, and one whose “courage was superior to his craft, which is no slight “praise for a Mahratta leader.”

At the death of Tukaji Rao the territories of the Holkar family were in a highly flourishing condition. The cultivators, under a mild system of assessments, were contented and prosperous ; the townships were managed by persons who had been chosen for their integrity and moderation ; the predatory Chiefs and wild hill tribes had been conciliated or awed into good behaviour ; the State was at peace with the neighbouring powers ; the large military force maintained was well paid and well commanded ; and a full exchequer strengthened the hands of those in power. But now

Dissolution
of Holkar
territories on
death of
Tukaji.

that the keystone was removed, the whole of this fair structure collapsed into ruin.

Tukaji's
heirs.

Tukaji Rao* left two legitimate sons, Khasi Rao and Malhar Rao ; and two illegitimate, Jeswant Rao and Etoji. Khasi Rao was imbecile and deformed, and it had been the wish of his father and of Ahalia Bai that he should remain at Mahesar in retirement, while his brother Malhar Rao, a bold and promising youth, should command the armies and assume the active duties of the sovereignty. But this arrangement was quite impracticable. The two brothers so totally dissimilar could not be expected to acquiesce in an arrangement which deprived the one of the sovereign honors, and the other of the sovereign power.

Malhar Rao.

Malhar Rao had pressed his father, on the ground of his superior fitness, to name him his sole heir ; and offended at his non-compliance had thrown himself upon the protection of Nana Farnavese, then supreme at Puna. Nana Farnavese promised to support his claims, and the troops also declared in his favour. His hopes of attaining the chiefship accordingly seemed reasonable ; when Khasi Rao, then at Mahesar, entreated Daulat Rao Sindia, through his minister, the notorious Sirji Rao Ghatkia, to support his pretensions. This was promised, and on his arrival at Puna, his cause was openly espoused. To prevent, however, the escape of his brother and a protracted warfare, a pretended reconciliation was sought and concluded : but on the night of the day on which this

Malhar Rao
seeks aid of
Nana Farnavese.

Khasi Rao
seeks aid of
Sindia.

* From this point I have followed more closely the narrative of Malcolm. Down to the battle of Mehidpur, where his account stops, he must always remain the first authority. He derived his information from original sources on the spot, often from persons who had taken part in the scenes described.

was effected, and after the solemn oath of "bel-ban-dar" * had been taken, the camp of Malhar Rao was surrounded by the disciplined battalions of Sindia. Apprised at day-break of his danger, young Holkar mounted his horse ; but before any defensive arrangements could be made, he was shot through the head ^{Malhar Rao} and killed. ^{killed.} The price of this infamous act of treachery was said to be the restoration of the bonds given by Madhaji Sindia to Ahalia Bai and Harka Bai, and the payment of fifteen lakhs of rupees, ten of which were in ready-money, while the revenue of Ambar, in the Deckan, was mortgaged for the remainder.

Jeswant Rao.

The whole of Holkar's troops, numbering only three or four thousand men, except a few followers of Khasi Rao, were dispersed, and their camp plundered. Among the fugitives was Jeswant Rao, who carried ^{Jeswant Rao} with him a few of the household horse, and, according ^{goes to Nagpur.} to report, some of the family jewels. He sought protection at Nagpur ; but a desire to obtain his property, or the hope of conciliating the Puna Government and Sindia, made Raghuji Bhonslé seize and confine him. He was kept in prison for six months, when he effected ^{Raghuji} his escape ; but was again taken. He succeeded, however, a second time in eluding his guard and arrived ^{Bhonslé seizes} in Khandaish. He was accompanied by a man named ^{Jeswant Rao} Shah Malomed and by a poor writer, Bhawani Shankar, who afterwards rose to be paymaster of his forces. On arriving in Khandaish Jeswant Rao went to the ^{Holkar.} village of Gurgaon to see his tutor, Chinna Bhaao, who ^{Jeswant Rao} escapes to ^{Khandaish.}

* The leaves of the *bel* tree are used in the worship of Mahadeva, which gives them a sacred character. On this oath being taken, the leaves are filled with turmeric, and interchanged with solemn pledges by both parties.

gave him a mare* and three hundred rupees, advising him to hasten to Malwa. He first went to the small Fort of Kukarnada, within twelve miles of Nandarwar,† and stayed here with the petty Bhil Chief to whom it belonged for some two or three months. It was probably at this time that he heard of the death of his brother Etoji, who, escaping from Puna, had been forced to associate with a band of freebooters, when he was again arrested, taken back to Puna, and trampled to death by an elephant. From Kukarnada Jeswant Rao went first to Barwani, and afterwards to Dharmpur, on the Narbadda, a town belonging to the Puar family, the Chief of which, Anand Rao, when he heard of his arrival, sent directions for his being

^{Etoji trampled to death by an elephant.} Jeswant Rao conducted by Mandu to Dhar. He also sent a dress of honor and a palankeen to meet him, and directed that all his wants should be liberally supplied. These extended at this low ebb of his fortune even to clothes for himself and his little band of followers.

Jeswant Rao remained at Dhar for two or three months as a guest of the Chief, and several of the old adherents of his family joined his standard ; but like himself they were in a state of wretched poverty. Happily however for Jeswant Rao, Rang Rao Ourekar, with a small force of Pathans and Pindarries, invaded the territory of Raja Anand Rao, and attacked Kisawal, a village sixteen miles south-east of Dhar. The Puar Chief was about to abandon the defence, when

* This was a chesnut mare named Lanka. She was a coarse-bred and nged animal ; but became a great favourite with her new master, who afterwards used to worship her during the Dassahra, calling her the ^{founder} of his fortunes.

† About twenty miles from Sunawarra.

he was stopped by Jeswant Rao, who entreated him to hold out, and promised him victory. Taking a scrap of paper he addressed a short note to the leaders of the Pindarry contingent with the enemy, saying, "Jeswant Rao Holkar is with the Puar, and desires you, as the adherents of his family, to withdraw." The Pindarries at first thought that this was a mere ruse ; but, when convinced of the genuineness of the note by the assurances of the messenger who carried it, they fell back and created confusion in the ranks of the Pathans. Jeswant Rao now pushed forward, recovered two guns that had been taken, sponged them out with his own hands and with the help of a small party of his men, sent a few round shot right in among the Afghans who were returning to the attack, and caused them to beat a hasty retreat. Anand Rao's gratitude knew no bounds ; but the only reward his guest would accept was a promise to afford him shelter in time of need.

Sindia had now heard that Jeswant Rao was in Dhar ; and he threatened the Chief of that place with his extreme displeasure if he continued to harbour him any longer. Anand Rao would still have continued his hospitality, but Jeswant Rao's generosity would not permit him to ruin his protector, and accepting a sum of ten thousand rupees and a present of seven horses, he set out from Dhar accompanied by the same number of followers, and seven more belonging to Sham Rao Mahadik, a Mahratta who had attached himself to his fortunes. To this little regiment of fourteen troopers he added one hundred and twenty ill-clad and ill-armed foot soldiers, the remains of the force that had accompanied him to

Jeswant Rao leaves Dhar.

Puna, and that had been plundered there of their horses and arms. The first enterprise he attempted with this party was directed against one hundred of Khasi Rao's household cavalry* who held Depalpur, a town about half way between Dhar and Indore. The attack was completely successful, and Jeswant Rao not only obtained a fair supply of money, but some capital horses for his men. 16363.

Malhar Rao (son of Tukaji) had a posthumous son named Khandi Rao ; and Jeswant Rao, ignoring the claims of his imbecile half-brother, proclaimed his allegiance to this infant nephew. Before leaving Dhar, he had caused a seal to be engraved with the legend† "Jeswant Rao, *fiduci sevai* Khandi Rao," in the Persian character :—and now under this designation he began to gather round him a heterogeneous body of Pindarries, Bhils, Afghans, Mahrattas, and Rajputs. From Depalpur he proceeded to Jaora‡ and thence to Mehidpur; but the Governors of both places refused to recognise him. He then marched to Sarangpur in Dewas, and a Sayyid of that town, Vazir Hossein, who had formerly been in the service of his family, was the first man of respectability in Malwa to join him. This officer added to the respectability of his name and the services of forty or fifty horse and two or three hundred

Vazir Hossein joins Jeswant Rao.

* The Chevalier Dudernaic, who had been encamped here with the brigade he commanded in the service of Khasi Rao, had marched for Indore, leaving the *Paiga* Horse for its protection.

† "Jeswant Rao, the servant of Khandi Rao." On his Mahratta seal was engraved—"At the feet of the husband of Mahalia (*i. e.*, Khandi Rao, the deity of Jejuri) the son of Malhar Rao, Khandi Rao.

‡ Ganga Ram Kottari, a banyan, was at this time Governor of Jaora. He was a man of considerable ability, and Jeswant Rao subsequently, after fining him for his contumacy on this occasion, employed him as Governor of Rampura and several other places.

foot, a gift of five thousand rupees; and it was by his advice that Jeswant Rao made overtures to Amir Khan, then encamped at Bhopal with fifteen hundred foot. This partisan leader at once accepted Holkar's invitation, and marched to Ranaganj, where the two Chiefs, whose fortunes were destined to be so clearly interwoven, met for the first time. The terms of their alliance were soon settled. Amir Khan solemnly engaged never to desert the fortunes of Jeswant Rao; while, on the other hand, he received a promise to share equally in all future plunder and conquest. The first transaction that ensued from this partnership was a requisition of seven thousand rupees from the Amil of Shujahalpur, who a few days previously had insulted Jeswant Rao by offering him two hundred rupees. Leaving Shujahalpur they met a party of merchants, whom they robbed of cloth to the value of forty thousand rupees, an exploit which enabled them to pay their new levies and which brought thousands of recruits to their standard. They now descended the ghâts into the valley of the Narbadda, attacked some districts belonging to Daulat Rao Sindia, and sacked Hindia. From here they marched to Kasrawad, opposite Mandlesar, where they engaged a brigade of Khasi Rao's troops under the command of the Chevalier Dudernaic. A severe contest ensued; but Jeswant Rao was victorious, and captured eight standards and four guns. He at once set out for Mahesar, elated with the victory. The attempt was premature however, and he was driven back and forced to retire upon Satwass. Here he succeeded in taking seven guns, which he repaired and took with him to Bargonda, a village on the road that leads from the Jam

Amir Khan
espouses
cause of Jes-
want Rao,
1798.

Terms of alli-
ance.

Rob a party
of merchants.

Defeats Khasi
Rao's troops
at Kasrawad.

The army
comes over to
Jeswant Rao.

Ghât to Mhow, intending to invite to his standard the troops of Khasi Rao then assembled at Indore. No invitation was needed. The adventures and exploits of the young Prince, his enterprise, his daring spirit, his gallantry, and his charming* manners had been borne along and magnified in a hundred rumours; and all were eager to transfer to him the services they now grudgingly lent to the misshapen lad at Mahesar. The Chevalier Dudernaic at once led over his battalions, and Nazib Khan followed with eight hundred horse.

Jeswant Rao
enters the
capital.

Jeswant Rao now proceeded to Mahesar, which he entered unopposed. Great pains were taken to discover the treasure left by Ahalia Bai; but what sums were obtained does not appear. The amount was popularly put down at twenty or thirty lakhs of rupees. One thing is certain that immediately after his arrival at Mahesar, he began to pay up his soldiers,† and establish order in the administration of the family domains. After a stay of three months here he returned to his cantonment at Bargonda, where he was detained longer than he intended to stay by the bursting of a musket which he was firing at a mark. This accident cost him one of his eyes. It is a common saying in India that one-eyed men are wicked; and Jeswant Rao used now to observe

He loses an
eye.

* Manners charming to a rude soldiery in rude times. Jeswant Rao's inexhaustible fund of coarse banter, his merry laugh, his buoyant spirits and gaiety of manner endeared him to those who followed his fortunes; but all feared his frown, his loud oaths, and terrible vituperation.

† At the same time he reorganized his troops. He divided his horse into three classes,—heavy, medium, and light. Troopers in the first class received Rs. 500 per annum; in the second, Rs. 300; and in the third, Rs. 250. Officers had higher allowances. Twenty days' pay only was given each month, and the arrears settled yearly.

laughingly—"I was bad enough before, but now I shall be the high priest of rogues."

He at this time bestowed a magnificent present, consisting of an elephant, horse, rich robe, and jewels, upon Amir Khan, conferred upon him the title of Nawab, and then detached him on a pillaging expedition. Dewas, Agar, Bersia, Seronge, and Sagar ^{Amir Khan plunders} were forced to pay great sums, or were plundered as ^{Amir Khan} Sagar. an alternative. At Sagar the greatest excesses were committed; and the army glutted with loot became entirely demoralised and almost melted away. At this juncture a force, commanded by Beni Singh,* was sent out against Amir Khan by the Raja of Nagpur and utterly routed the Pindarries. Their ^{Amir Khan's army is demoralised and dispersed.} leader, however, soon got together a body strong enough to resume the work of devastation; and he now proceeded to Shujahalpur, which he ruthlessly sacked, but not before he had lost his brother in the fray, Karrimud-din, a young commander of great promise. The proceedings at Sagar and the sack of Shujahalpur greatly displeased Jeswant Rao; and a report that Amir Khan contemplated hostile designs against himself led him to send Sham Rao Mahadi^k with a strong corps to seize the Pindarry Captain. Amir Khan, in the greatest alarm, hastened to Indore, ^{Jeswant Rao and Amir Khan are reconciled.} accompanied only by an escort of one hundred horse, ^{reconciled.} tendered his submission and protested his unwavering fidelity. A complete reconciliation was the result.

All these events had succeeded one another with such rapidity that before Daulat Rao Sindia, who was at Puna, could place himself at the head of a

* Beni Singh was killed at Gawilghar, when that Fort was taken by the Duke of Wellington in 1803.

sufficient force to protect his possessions in Malwa, they were half ruined. The storm of war and rapine had swept across the entire province, the fields had been laid waste, the cities plundered and the whole machinery of government shattered to pieces. Sindia hastened to the scene, and Holkar prepared to meet him. An advanced detachment of Sindia's troops

Jeswant Rao
defeated at
Satwass.

was defeated; but Jeswant Rao sustained a serious reverse at Satwass, below the Vindhya, in the valley

of the Narbadda, and retired upon Indore. After a halt of a few days he advanced to Sarangpur, where he was joined by Amir Khan. It was now the middle of the Rains. Roaring torrents filled the nala, and it was almost impossible to traverse the black, "cotton" soil. But the two leaders pushed on towards Ujjain, the capital of Sindia's possessions in

The battle of
Ujjain, 1799.

Malwa, and attacked a strong division of the enemy, comprising eight disciplined battalions and upwards of twenty guns. A pitched battle was fought, and won by the courage and generalship of Holkar. While fiercely attacking the enemy in front, he caused a strong body of cavalry to turn their flank under cover of a deep water-course; and these troops coming down from the circuit they had made in the direction of Ujjain were at first hailed by Sindia's Army as reinforcements, and charged home furiously before the mistake was perceived. The victory was complete.

Triumph of
Holkar's
army.

Sindia's troops were cut to pieces, and Ujjain, protected from pillage by the discipline Jeswant Rao had enforced, was mulcted a great sum of money on a well-considered scheme of extortion.*

* The right of extorting money from the different wards of the city was farmed out to influential citizens.

But this triumph was soon forgotten in presence of a terrible reverse of fortune. As soon as the Rains were over, Sindia sent Sirji Rao Ghatkia with a strong detachment to attack Indore. Holkar hastened back from Ujjain to defend it. He seems to have underrated his enemy ; for though there is reason to believe that the Chevalier Dudernaic would not have obeyed his orders, there can be no doubt but that the cavalry commander, who was at Jaora with his brigade, would have come if ordered to ; but Jeswant Rao deeming his light troops enough for the occasion, only brought a division of infantry with him, accompanied, nevertheless, by the great park of artillery, amounting to about three hundred guns, which he had taken at Ujjain. He arrived at Indore some days before Ghatkia. The latter encamped near Bijalpur, a village three miles south of the city, close to which Jeswant Rao had drawn up his forces. Skirmishing at once commenced, and was carried on without intermission for about ten days, accompanied by an artillery duel at long ranges. At length Jeswant Rao resolved to attack the enemy in force, and hoping to repeat with equal success the tactics of Ujjain, he detached Amir Khan with ten or twelve thousand men to move at night by a circuitous route so as to gain the rear of Ghatkia's battalions by the early morning, when on a signal gun being fired, a simultaneous attack would be made on front and rear. But before this manœuvre could be carried out, the battle, provoked by the insolence of Sindia's Pindarries, had commenced. Holkar's Mahomedan horse could no longer be restrained, and were slipped on the Pindarries. The latter broke and fled, and threw

Battle of
Indore.

the Mahratta cavalry into confusion. A general movement spread through the ranks ; but Jeswant Rao, usually so impetuous, hesitated. Events had not turned out as he had expected. He wished to see Amir Khan's lances appear on the ridge behind the enemy's battalions. He wished to see the utter confusion of Ghatkia as he found himself rolled up between two hostile bodies. He wished, in fact, to gain an overwhelming victory, and to gain it his own way. But while he hesitated, the tide of battle turned. The Mahratta horse rallied, and the whole host reassured, advanced upon Holkar's troops and forced them to retire. At this moment Amir Khan arrived upon the field ; but the battle was already lost. Again and again Jeswant Rao attempted to re-form his men, but it was too late. His squadrons were broken and disordered, and what was a few hours before a compact army was fast dissolving into a panic-stricken mob. The leaders gave orders to load the bullocks and save the baggage : but the Pindarries swooped down upon them and all had to fly for their lives. Holkar was utterly routed, and leaving his capital, his camp, and his guns in the hands of the enemy, fled with a small remnant of his horse and foot to the fort at Jam. Nothing could exceed the atrocities now perpetrated by the victorious army in the City of Indore. The infamous Ghatkia encouraged the Pindarries to surpass themselves in every conceivable act of violence and barbarity. The wells are said to have been choked with the bodies of unhappy women who by a voluntary death escaped the indignities and cruelty to which, for more than fifteen days they were exposed. Every

building was demolished, and between four and five thousand persons were massacred.

While his enemies were sacking his capital, Jeswant ^{Sack of Indore} Rao was shut up in the little Fort of Jam on the brow of the Vindhya. The Pindarries patrolled the country all round and cut off his supplies. His troops were on half rations and clamouring for pay. With the little baggage saved from the wreck, there were some boxes that had been found in the treasury of Ahalia Bai : they were filled with gold and silver ornaments ; and these he broke up and distributed among his men to still their murmurs. Then sending what baggage remained on to Mahesar, he marched in one day to the prosperous city of Ratlam, a distance of nearly eighty miles, and delivered it over to plunder. For thirteen days his men rioted in abundance, and he then led them back to Mahesar heavily burdened with booty. On his arrival there he told them plainly that he had lost all means of giving them regular pay ; but that if they chose to follow his fortunes they should share the spoils of predatory war.

At this time Khasi Rao was in the camp of Daulat ^{Khasi Rao leaves the camp of Sindia.} Rao Sindia : but the latter finding that association with his cause only turned Jeswant Rao and Amir Khan loose upon Malwa, desired Khasi Rao to proceed to Mahesar, where he was kindly received and treated with honor by his half-brother ; though admitted to no participation, real or ostensible, in public affairs. One day when Khasi Rao was foolishly boasting of influence in the councils of Sindia, he proposed to his brother to effect a reconciliation between him and that prince.—“ Hold your tongue,” said Jeswant Rao,—

"had God in mercy to the house of Holkar ordained you to be a female, you would have benefited another family by bearing children ; but you have the name of a man, and have been in consequence the ruin of your own."*

Sindia makes overtures. Besides sending Khasi Rao to Mahesar, Sindia had previously offered to release the son of Malhar Rao, and to give up all the Holkar territories in Malwa, on condition that Jeswant Rao discontinued his devastations ; but the latter had already gone too far as a freebooter ; and probably inclination partly led him to continue the wild and adventurous life to which he was committed. To these circumstances, we must refer his insisting that Sindia should cede lands that had not been in the possession of the Holkar family since the days of Malhar Rao. On this being refused, he prepared to carry on the war on a more extended scale. He sent Fatteh Singh Mania, accompanied by two chiefs of the Pathan tribe of Bangash, to plunder the territories of Sindia, and the Peishwa in the Deckan ; while he himself marched to the northward, levying heavy fines as he went along on Barnagar (Nolai), Kachrôd, Mandessôr, and all the large towns, threatening the alternative of sacking them. He

Exact black-mail from Zalim Singh of Kôta. also marched to Kôta, and compelled Zalim Singh to pay him seven lakhs of rupees, to save his State from desolation. The infantry brigades withdrawn by the Chevalier Dudernaic now returned to their allegiance, but without their commander, who, mis-trusting the offers of pardon held out by Jeswant

* This conversation was related to Sir J. Malcolm by one who over-heard it : and the correctness of the account was subsequently corroborated.

Rao, took refuge in Kôta, and subsequently retired to Hindustan.

Jeswant Rao spared no one, Hindu or Mussalman, chief or priest, all had to purchase exemption from violence and robbery. He plundered the shrine of ^{Plunders} ^{Shrine of} ^{Nath Dwara.} Nath Dwara* in Mewar, to the great horror of some of his Hindu adherents, and jestingly observed to his Pathans, with whom he was always especially familiar, that the plunder was the gift of a divinity that smiled on his progress. After ravaging the greater portion of Mewar, he retired to Rampura on the Chambal, and while in cantonments there, it is supposed that he discovered great treasure in the neighbourhood of the famous Fort of Hinglajgarh. From Rampura he proceeded to Amjhira, which he plundered and burnt, provoked by the spirited, but ineffectual, resistance of the Raja. He now crossed the Narbadda and laid waste Sindia's districts in Nimar. Khandwa, then a large and opulent city, was reduced to ashes, and heavy contributions were levied on Barhanpur. Here he was joined by his infantry, with which, and a small body of cavalry, he proceeded to collect money in Khandaish, while Amir Khan and other commanders were detached in various directions to support their followers by plundering the dominions of the Peishwa and the Nizam. Heavy contributions were levied on Malligaon, Toka, Kaigaon, Para, Sanjan, and Jalna. Ambar, which had been held by Sindia since the death of Malhar Rac, surrendered to Amir Khan, the State of Vinchur was devastated, and great sums were extorted from the priests in charge of the shrine of Faltimba.

Laying waste the country far and wide, Jeswant Rao slowly proceeded towards Puna, with the professed intention of making the Peishwa, Baji Rao, arbiter of the differences between himself and Sindia. The latter chief hastened to the scene with a considerable force, and Jeswant Rao, giving up all idea (if he ever entertained any) of entering into negotiations with the Peishwa, and fearing to be hemmed in between the two armies, precipitated hostilities. A

The battle of battle* was fought close to Puna.
Puna, 1802. Jeswant Rao behaved with the utmost gallantry, and was wounded in several places. His efforts were crowned with signal success. Sindia and the Peishwa were utterly routed ; and the latter,† who had fled from his capital before the action commenced, with characteristic timidity, now hastened in great alarm to the seacoast, where soon afterwards he was provided with a British ship and conveyed to Bassein.‡ He had already sent

* This battle forming part of the general history of India, rather than of the Holkar family, is not described at length.

† Malcolm's Political History of India.

‡ The following letter was at this time addressed by Colonel Wellesley (the Duke of Wellington) to Jeswant Rao :—"Much time has elapsed since I have had the pleasure of hearing from you, although I am anxious to cultivate the good understanding which has subsisted between the Honourable Company's Government and you. With this view I now send you a copy of the Treaty concluded at Bassein, between the Honourable Company and Rao Pandit Pardhan ; from the general defensive tenor of which you will observe that the peace and security of India are provided for. You will also see that Article 12 provides effectually for the security of all the great Mahratta jagirdars, and that those of the Holkar family are particularly named. This article will satisfy your mind, notwithstanding the endeavours which have been made to raise your doubts, and you will see that the interest and security of your family are connected with this Treaty, and that, in fact, they can be provided for in no other manner. That being the case, whatever others may do, I have little doubt—but that you will conduct yourself in a manner which your interests will dictate, and that you will continue in peace* with the

to the Resident* at Puna, a document, to which his own seal was affixed, offering to receive a subsidiary force and to cede for its support, territory either in Guzerat or in the south, producing an annual revenue of six lakhs of rupees ; and the messenger who bore this writing to the Resident assured him that his master desired to conclude a defensive alliance with the Honourable Company on the basis of the Treaty of Haidarabad. These overtures led to the Treaty of Bassein, by which the British engaged to support Baji Rao, and thus, for the first time, came into contact with the Holkars.

After the victory, Jeswant Rao declared that Baji Rao by leaving his capital had abdicated, and he supported Amrat Rao† in assuming the style and office of Peishwa. The British Resident was treated with the utmost respect and consideration ; but could not be prevailed upon to stay in Puna and countenance the new order of things.

For two months no act of extortion or violence was committed at Puna. The revenue was collected in a manner that excited neither discontent nor alarm. But the preparation of the British Government to restore Baji Rao accelerated a crisis unfavourable to the hopes of Amrat Rao and to the schemes of Holkar. Contribution General Wellesley was marching upon the city, and levied on Puna.

Company. I send this letter in charge of Kadir Nawar Khan, a respectable officer, who enjoys my confidence, and who will explain anything you desire to know respecting my wishes."

(Sd.) ARTHUR WELLESLEY.

JESWANT RAO HOLKAR.

* Colonel Close.

† An adopted son of Baji Rao's father.

Jeswant Rao* determined to leave his mark and retire. Every house except the poorest was entered and guards placed over it. Every inhabitant who could be supposed to possess property was seized and tortured to disgorge his hoard, while horsemen patrolled the outskirts of the city to arrest fugitives. The booty obtained was very considerable ; and Jeswant Rao after paying a portion of the arrears due to his troops beat a hasty retreat towards Malwa, with a large sum in his military chest.

Retreat from
Puna, 1802.

After the battle of Puna, Daulat Rao Sindia, withdrew to the neighbourhood of Barhanpur, where he engaged in preparations for the war which, in conjunction with Raghujī Bhonslē, he meditated against the British Government. The confederate chiefs were most anxious to secure the co-operation of Jeswant Alliance with Rao ; and a treaty was signed by which the promise Sindia and Bhonslē, 1803. of his aid was obtained in return for the cession of all the countries that had formerly belonged to the Holkar family, and the release of Khandi Rao and Bima Bai.†

Sindia accordingly sent Holkar his nephew and daughter, and addressed him a letter urging him to despatch a portion of his army to the Deckan without delay, as the war was to be opened at once. Jeswant Rao's first resolution was to comply with this request ;

* Jeswant Rao, who throughout his career was addicted to dissipation, now gave way to every excess. His favourite drinks were cherry and raspberry brandy, and the shops of Bombay were drained of these, and other strong liquors for his use.

† Jeswant Rao's daughter.—Both Khandi Rao and Bima Bai had been made prisoners when Sindia slew Malhar Rao at Puna. They had been for some time confined in Assirgarh, when they were sent to Jeswant Rao's camp.

and the whole of Amir Khan's Pindarries actually crossed the Narbadda, then swollen with the autumn rains ; but Holkar having himself crossed in one of the last boats with the Pindarry Captain, entered into a conversation with him, of which nothing has ever transpired, but which was followed by a complete change in all their plans. The river was re-crossed, and a long, apologetic letter was written to Sindia excusing the defection on the plea that Holkar had no money to pay his troops in regular warfare. He could only fight, he said, like a Mahratta on the guerilla system ; and he begged Sindia to send his infantry, guns, and baggage to Malwa, and to join him in carrying on an irregular, predatory war against the British. Sindia, however, could not be expected to pay much heed to the advice of one whose first act was so openly perfidious, and who, as soon as he observed his rival's armies fully occupied in Hindustan and the Deckan, took advantage of their unprotected condition to ravage his territories in Central India.

Jeswant Rao after passing the Rains at Indore, ^{Raiding.} proceeded to the neighbourhood of Bhanpura, where for some time he remained encamped on the banks of the Chambal, and then advanced towards the frontiers of Jaipur, pillaging, or levying black-mail from the districts he passed through.

But about this time Sindia* having concluded a peace with the British Government, again entered into negotiations with Sindia, ^{Renewed negotiations} ^{1804.} Jeswant Rao. The overtures were conducted by Ambaji Inglia, through whom Daulat

* This treaty of peace was concluded in December 30th, 1803 ; and was further cemented by a treaty of defensive alliance, signed February 27th, 1804.

Rao is said to have represented that he had been betrayed by Raghujî Bhonsl , deceived by his own ministers, deserted by his army, and that he saw no prospect of upholding the Mahratta cause without the aid of Jeswant Rao. The latter replied that he had foreseen the event of a campaign conducted on the principles of regular warfare ; but that he was, nevertheless, willing to make one more attempt against the British, if Sindia would advance him enough money to set his troops in motion. He was told, in reply to this proposal, that Daulat Rao had no treasure to send him, but that he might levy contributions from his principal towns. This offer was gladly closed with, and while Amir Khan was advised to supply his wants from the rich grain-producing districts of Bhilsa, and the western part of Bundelkhand, Jeswant Rao

**The sack of
Mandess r.**

marched on Mandess r.* This city was a great emporium of trade between Guzerat, Rajputana, Malwa, and Hindustan. Requisitions had often been made on it before ; but they were generally accompanied by a partial remission of revenue, and the city was not impoverished. The present visitation was of a different character. Holkar, to prevent a general exodus of the inhabitants, agreed, when within a distance of twelve miles, to accept a light fine of three lakhs of rupees ; but on the following day when he had completely invested the city, and brought two hundred guns to bear upon its paltry defences, he summoned the Governor to surrender the town unconditionally, or to abide the event of an assault. Opposition was futile. The gates of the city were opened, and systematic plunder commenced. To each quarter an officer furnished

with troops, accountants, and workmen was appointed. Every house* was harried. Boxes were broken open ; floors were dug up ; and bankers were tortured to reveal their hoards. The only exception to the rule of universal and searching pillage was made in favour of the garments and ornaments which the women of the town were actually wearing at the time. All else was swept away. Sir John Malcolm estimates the booty at upwards of one million sterling ; and it is known with certainty that Jeswant Rao himself received, in money, jewels, goods, and grain, an amount then valued at six hundred thousand pounds, with which he paid up the arrears due to his army, now about to be called upon to engage in a war with the British Government.

The projected alliance with Sindia was never ratified. Jeswant Rao† continued to profess friendship for the British Government. But his conduct cast suspicion on his professions, and Lord Lake was instructed by the Governor-General to enter into a negotiation with him with a view to discovering what his actual intentions and wishes were. Accordingly Lord Lake addressed a letter to him stating in general terms the conditions on which the British Government was disposed to leave him in the unmolested enjoyment of his power ; but at the same time requiring, as a proof of his sincerity, that he should withdraw his troops from the threatening position they occupied, retire within his own territories, and abstain from levying tribute from the allies of the British Government.

Negotiation
between Lord
Lake and
Jeswant Rao,
1804.

* The Governor's house alone was exempted from search.

† Malcolm's Political History of India, Vol. I, p. 268.

After some little delay Holkar sent envoys to wait upon the Commander-in-Chief and make him the following propositions:

Terms proposed by Jeswant Rao.

1st.—That Holkar should be permitted to collect the *chauth* agreeably to the custom of his ancestors.

2nd.—That the ancient possessions formerly held by his family (twelve of the finest districts in the Duab, and a district in Bundelkhand) should be given to him.

3rd.—That the country of Harriana, which was formerly in the possession of the Holkar family, should be ceded to him.

4th.—That this country should be guaranteed to him, and a treaty concluded with him, similar to that concluded with Sindia in 1804.

These unreasonable and arrogant demands could not, of course, be complied with ; and their tone led Lord Lake to suspect the designs of their author. His suspicions were confirmed by letters addressed by Jeswant, Rao to several of the British Tributaries in Hindustan, inciting them to rebellion, and threatening them with the vengeance of his plundering bands if they held back. Lord Lake also obtained at this period

Jeswant Rao writes to General Wellesley. an extravagant and impertinent letter, that Holkar had addressed to General Wellesley, demanding the cession of certain territories in the Deckan which he

had asserted originally belonged to his family, and concluding with the following gasconade :—“ Countries*

* Colonel Wellesley (afterwards Duke of Wellington) writing to General Stuart on the 17th of March, 1804, says of this letter:—“ The conduct of Holkar is still dubious. He has written to me a letter, “ dated about the 1st of February, in terms very civil and respectful “ towards myself, but much otherwise towards General Lake, whose “ letter he has not answered, and whom he threatens in his letter to me.”—*Despatches of the Duke of Wellington in India, Gurwood, Calcutta, 1842, Vol. III, p. 147.*

of many hundred *kōs* shall be overrun and plundered. Lord Lake shall not have leisure to breathe for a moment, and calamities will fall on hundreds of thousands of human beings, in continuous war, by the attacks of my army, which overwhelms like the waves of the sea."

This insolent language, and the barbarous murder of the three British officers, Tod, Ryan, and Vickars at Nahar Mughana near Udaipur, were followed by ^{Overt acts of hostility.} acts of positive hostility. He now sent an agent to Sindia's camp and openly solicited the aid of that chief in an attack upon British territory, and at the same time began to lay waste the State of Jaipur. The Commander-in-Chief accordingly prepared to march against him, and thus began the memorable series of operations known as "the Third Mahratta War."

It would be foreign* to the object of this work to ^{War with the Brit.^h, 1804.} follow in detail the course of the military movements that ensued. The war commenced by Holkar losing the fort and province of Tonk Rampura ; but the unsupported advance of Colonel Monson's force into Malwa, though crowned at first by the capture of Hinglajgarh, enabled Holkar to concentrate his entire army upon a small detachment remote from its base of operations, and to advance on its hasty retreat towards Upper India with troops elated by success. The story of this disastrous movement is told by Colonel Tod† in Oct. 8-14th. detail. He now entered Hindustan with a force of

* For a full account of this campaign, the reader is referred to chapter 44 of Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas ; and Vol. II, p. 171 *et seqq.*, Marshman's History of India.

† Tod's Rajasthan, Vol. II, pp. 463, 468, 505, 506, 665.

ninety-two thousand men,* but the failure of his attack upon Delhi, the rout of his cavalry at Farrakhabad,† and the defeat of his infantry and loss of his guns at Dig were disasters crowded into a single month ; and although the British subsequently sustained severe losses at Bharatpur, Holkar was compelled to withdraw from Upper India seven months after he had entered it with an army utterly shattered and demoralised, and shorn of its guns and camp equipage. By desertion, battle, and disease, he had lost within this short period fifty thousand men, yet, notwithstanding these overwhelming reverses, he marched again into Upper India at the close of the Rains, and proceeded by forced marches to the Panjab,‡ pursued by a British army. He was overtaken and compelled to sue for peace. He declared to Lord Lake that his whole kingdom lay upon his saddle-bow, and he seemed to entertain apprehensions—groundless it need hardly be said—for his personal safety. To his surprise, he was not only treated with respect, but assured that the British Government would restore

* Sixty-six thousand cavalry, seven thousand artillery, and nineteen thousand infantry. He carried with him, moreover, one hundred pieces of ordnance.—Grant Duff says, sixty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot.

† General Lake hotly pursued Holkar to Farrakhabad from October 31st to November 17th, marching on an average twenty-three miles. During the night and day preceding the attack and including the pursuit his cavalry traversed seventy miles in twenty-four hours.—*Grant Duff.*

‡ Colonel Wellesley remarked, that at this time Holkar used in his correspondence a seal, on which he described himself as “the slave of Shah Mahmud,” king of kings. “Holkar has taken this title,” adds Colonel Wellesley, either to frighten us with some prospect of an “invasion of India by the Afghans, or he has really communicated with ~~or~~ entered the service of Mahmud Shah.”

many of the old territories* that formerly pertained to his family. A treaty of amity was concluded at Rajpur Ghât on the banks of the Bias River, on the 24th of December, 1805,—the first of that long series of engagements which have now so closely knit together the interests of the British Government and the House of Holkar.

This Treaty was signed by Colonel (afterwards General) Malcolm, on the part of the British Government, and by Sheikh Habib-Ulla and Bala Ram, Seth,† on the part of Holkar.

On the return of Lord Cornwallis,‡ however, a change had taken place in the policy of the British Government. It was now deemed expedient to withdraw from the engagements entered into with the smaller chiefs to the west of the Jumna, a measure that left them open to the ravages of the great Mahratta freebooters. Lord Lake remonstrated; but on the death of Lord Cornwallis, Sir George Barlow persisted in the same policy and caused a declaratory article to be added to the Treaty concluded on the bank of the Bias, relinquishing to Holkar Tonk, Rainpura, and other districts forming the ancient possessions of his family which it had been the intention of Government to cede to Sindia, in lieu of the annual pension of four lakhs of rupees that had been granted to him.

The declaratory article.

* Nearly all his territories in Central India had been at this time seized by the British.

† Bala Ram was a bannia, and it had been his duty originally to supply and weigh out the grain for the cattle. He afterwards rose to be minister.

‡ Aitchison.

**Provision
for the Bolia
family.**

By article 4 of this Treaty of 1805, the district of Kunch in Bundelkhand was assigned as a life-grant to Bima Bai Sahiba, daughter of Jeswant Rao, who had been married to Govind Rao Bolia. She died in 1858, and this district escheated to the British Government ; but a provision of Rs. 20,000 a year has been assigned for life to her grandson, Govind Rao, for the support of the old retainers of the family. Govind Rao Bolia married a daughter of the present Maharaaja, Tukaji Rao Holkar ; and now lives within Residency limits at Indore.

**Descends
upon Jaipur.**

The change in the policy of the British Government left Holkar free to plunder Jaipur, and he readily availed himself of the opportunity thus offered. He stayed for a month in this State, laid waste fields, and drew eighteen lakhs of rupees from the treasury of the Raja. From here he proceeded to Marwar, where he commenced a complete re-organisation of his army, reducing it to a size more in keeping with his revenues, and imposing a more penetrating and severe discipline on what he retained.

**Re-organises
his army,
1806.**

**Relations
with Marwar.**

During Jeswant Rao's campaign in the Panjab, his family had been in the safe custody of his friend Man Singh, the Chief of Jôdhpur. The latter now visited Holkar, handing over to him his family, and asking his assistance in the war in which he was then engaged with the Chief of Jaipur for the hand of the beautiful and ill-fated Princess Krishna Kumari Bai* of Udaipur. But Jeswant Rao had sworn to the Chief of Jaipur not to render this aid, and, moreover,

his army was now in a mutinous state. He therefore declined to interfere, but promised that he would send Amir Khan with an auxiliary contingent.

The principal mutineers in the army were the ^{Mutiny in the} Mahratta Horse, who clamoured for the arrears of ^{army.} pay due to them. Jeswant Rao was obliged to calm their violence by handing over to them as a hostage his nephew Khandi Rao, in whose name he ruled over the territories of his family. But the disaffected troopers, who were now joined by the minister, Ganpat Rao, declared for the nephew, a boy 10 years of age, and denounced Jeswant Rao as the offspring of a slave. Their insubordination was, however, quelled by Jeswant Rao distributing among them the money he had extorted from the Raja of Jaipur, and they returned quietly to their homes. The minister who was made prisoner, effected his escape and got away to Benares, where he stayed till Jeswant Rao had ceased to rule. The unhappy ^{Death of} _{Khandi Rao.} child, Khandi Rao,* was removed by poison ; and Jeswant Rao became the nominal as he had long been the real head of the family. But the death of Khandi Rao did not allay the fears, which the conduct of the insurgents had raised, and the death of Khasi Rao was now resolved upon. Chimna Bhao, a man of infamous life, and the evil genius of Jeswant Rao, is said to have recommended this atrocious measure, and he certainly lent himself to its perpetration. He went to Kergond in Nimar, a district of which he

* It is said that the child with sense beyond his years foretold his fate, assuring the mutineers, that they would receive their pay, but that he would be sacrificed.

Death of Khasi Rao. was manager, and where he had the custody of Khasi Rao and his wife,* and either caused them to be put to death, or, according to one account, committed the deed with his own hand.*

Symptoms of madness. At this time symptoms of insanity began to appear, and Jeswant Rao† became subject to paroxysms of rage that alarmed his family and adherents ; but his natural capacity still remained to him except during these moments of violence. It was about this time that Amir Khan, who had been employed to pacify the Mahomedan insurgents in the late mutiny, demanded remuneration for his services, and was granted the districts of Pirawa and Tonk. The former of these was then estimated to be worth Rs. 50,000 per annum ; the latter gives its name to the State held at the present day by Amir Khan's great grandson. Amir Khan now transferred his services to the chief of Jaipur.

Casting cannon and re-organising the army. On his return to Bhanpura, Jeswant Rao began casting cannon‡ and re-organising his army with an impetuous energy that indicated, and probably accelerated, the progress of his malady. He would work at the forges and foundries with his own hands, labouring with extravagant efforts ; and on the parade ground he was equally active. Twice a day sham-fights were held, and the chief was everywhere, directing every manœuvre, observing and criticising the conduct of every soldier. But day by day he

* Anandi Bai was pregnant at the time, and a rumour was circulated that the child had been saved ; but this was subsequently proved to be false.

† His madness is dated by the Holkar family from the death of Khandi Rao.

At this period he cast above two hundred pieces of brass cannon.

became more excitable, and paroxysms of fury succeeded each other more frequently. The greatest terror pre-^{Insanity, 1808.} vailed among those whose duties brought them into contact with him. He would order his officers away to immediate execution for no appreciable offence. The timid, but amiable minister, Bala Ram, Seth, sat cowering before him, trembling in every limb, as if suffering from ague: the women would come shrieking out of the inner apartments, horrified and terror-stricken by his behaviour. He had now to be bound with cords and guarded like a wild animal. His rule was over, the "Period of Trouble," which commenced with the death of Tukaji, was at an end. For a year he continued in this state of madness, and then sunk into one of utter fatuity. In this last stage he never spoke, appeared insensible to everything around, was tended like a child, and fed upon milk. He died at Bhan-^{Death, 1811.} pura, where a handsome mausoleum has been erected to his memory, on the 26th of October, 1811. On Sir John Malcolm's visiting that city, he saw one of the great chieftain's favourite chargers peacefully grazing near his master's tomb.*

Jeswant Rao Holkar was a man of middling size, ^{Characteris-}
^{tics.} but of a wiry and active frame. His complexion was dark, yet, notwithstanding this circumstance and the loss of his eye, the expression was pleasing and animated. In horsemanship, in the use of all arms, especially the long Mahratta spear, he excelled. His own language he knew well. He wrote it with remarkable correctness; and for banter or cajolery, for rebuke or vituperation, its entire vocabulary and

* Cf. Tod's *Rajasthan*, Vol. II, p. 659.

Character. idiom were at his command. Quick and fierce in anger, gay and joyous at other times, he was regarded by all around him with mixed feelings of awe and affection. He had an intense love of power, and to attain it all means, fair or foul, were welcomed; but in his defence it may be said that he had received great injuries, and had met with perfidy where he might have expected good faith. He spent his life as an adventurer, wandering about with a predatory army in territories that he had not unreasonably hoped to rule over as a regent, if not a sovereign prince; and although this wild and precarious life seemed not unsuited to his tastes, we must remember that it was forced upon him by the attitude of Sindia, and could not well have been abandoned until he had plunged too deeply in the excesses of guerilla warfare to make retreat easy.

The Duke of Wellington's estimate. The Duke of Wellington, then Col. Wellesley, twice remarks, in his correspondence, on "the ferocity and superstition" of Jeswant Rao's disposition. Elsewhere he says rather disparagingly, "Holkar has the reputation of being an able man, and has certainly been a successful one."—Lord Lake writes of him in 1804 :—"I never was so plagued as I am with this *devil*."

Grant Duff's estimate. Grant Duff characterises him thus:—"The chief feature of Jeswant Rao's character was that hardy spirit of energy and enterprise, which, though like that of his countrymen boundless in success, was also not to be discouraged by trying reverses. Although sometimes capriciously lavish, he was rapacious, unfeeling, and cruel, and his disposition was overbearing, jealous, and violent."

The Regency of Tulsa Bai.

On Jeswant Rao becoming insane, Bala Ram, Seth, assumed the ostensible direction of affairs; but he acted under instructions from Tulsa Bai,* one of the late Chief's concubines. This woman by her talents, her superior education† and her remarkable beauty had for some time possessed very great influence in the State, and now her elevation to the office of Regent was generally acquiesced in. Before Jeswant Rao's death, she had adopted his illegitimate son, Malhar Rao. This child's mother was Kesaira Bai, a woman of the *kumar*, or potter, caste. The adopted heir was placed on the *gaddi* immediately after the death of his father, and his title was universally acknowledged. Zalim Singh, the celebrated Regent of Kôta, came to Bhanpura, as the representative of a tributary State, to present in person his offering of allegiance.

After Jeswant Rao became insane, a serious mutiny broke out in the army, which was only quelled by prompt measures and heavy payments directed by Amir Khan, who seized the treasury, at this time containing ten lakhs of rupees. Amir Khan was shortly afterwards obliged to leave Malwa to look after his interests in Rajputana, but he left Ghaffur Khan, who had married his wife's sister, to represent him at the Court of Holkar. This leader received

* Tulsa Bai was the reputed daughter of Ajiba, a priest of the sect of Mau Bhai. She was married when Jeswant Rao first heard of her; but the husband was soon disposed of. He received a horse, a dress, and a small sum of money, and retired to the Deccan.

† Malcolm's Central India, Vol. I, p. 278.

Jaora.

the title of Nawab, and Bala Ram assigned him lands at Jaora, worth twenty thousand rupees a month, for the support of himself and one thousand horse. These events occurred about seven or eight months after Jeswant Rao had been put under restraint.

Dherma
Kuar.

The army now moved from its cantonments on the Kali Sind River to Mhow ; and Bala Ram forming the newly-organised battalions of infantry, with the artillery attached to them, into one legion, placed the whole under the command of Dherma Kuar, an unscrupulous and ambitious man, who had been a favourite personal servant of Jeswant Rao's. This adventurer now attempted to seize the supreme power in the State, and actually obtained possession of the persons of Jeswant Rao, Malhar Rao, and Tulsa Bai. Amir Khan with a large body of Pindarries hastened to the rescue, and his arrival nearly precipitated the doom which seemed impending over the unhappy captives. They had been taken into a deep forest, and there can be no doubt but that Dherma's intentions were murderous, when they were almost miraculously rescued by the timely arrival of Ratu Patel, who galloped up with a detachment of the household cavalry. Tulsa Bai, who was in tears, cried out, "He has brought us here to be murdered."—Dherma was seized, his own troops turned against him, and he was executed* by order of Tulsa Bai, at a place near Sangura, about four miles from Sadri.

* Dherma Kuar belonged to the Ahir, or cowherd tribe. He was a man of remarkable resolution and courage. At the last moment, when the executioner wielding the axe with one hand had made an ineffectual blow, he turned round his head and said, "Take both hands, you rascal ; after all it is the head of Dherma that is to be cut off."

The most ruinous methods were at this time employed to support the Court and army. Detachments under officers termed Subadars, or Governors,* were sent in all directions to plunder, and bring back what they could, after helping themselves. They pillaged indiscriminately Holkar, Sindia, and Puar territory. The fortunes of the Holkar family were at ^{The Court of} _{Tulsa Bai.} their lowest ebb. No State really appertained to it. No revenue payments, and no judicial system existed ; there was nothing that could be termed an administration. Tulsa Bai, her sister concubine, Harika Bai,† their domestic servants, the boy Malhar Rao, and a pack of low-born, greedy adventurers kept a riotous, shifting Court in gipsy fashion. They were surrounded by a mutinous rabble, that formed a focus of rapine and murder for the whole of Malwa. The so-called minister was a bannia ; the Regent was a woman, whose shameless profligacy shocked even the loose principles of her abandoned associates ; and the military commanders were for the most part men who had risen from the humblest appointments to offices in the army through subserviency to the irregular passions of those in power. The only allies of the family now were the freebooters Amir Khan and Ghaffur Khan ; all other friends were alienated by the disreputable character of the Court, and the abominable anarchy at which all in power connived. The ^{Anarchy.} tributary Chiefs forgot their allegiance and turned plunderers on their own account ; and the Bhils issued from their mountain jungles to share in the congenial

* Of these the most remarkable were Jagga Bappu, Bappu Vishun, and Ram Din.

† Mistress of Malhar Rao I.

Plots.

Mohipat Rao
Holkar.

scenes of violence and pillage.* Amid the general disorder, a series of plots to subvert the authority of Tulsa Bai, or the claims of young Malhar Rao, rapidly succeeded one another. The first of these was probably instigated by Daulat Rao Sindia. A relation of his named Jatiba Mania entered the service of the Holkar family, and succeeded in detaching three battalions of infantry from their allegiance. He led them to Bhanpura, on the pretext of demanding arrears, but really to support the pretensions of Mohipat Rao, son of Anand Rao Holkar, Jagirdar of Jallein. This claimant to the chiefship was ostensibly put forward by Ema Bai, widow of the Malhar Rao, murdered at Puna, and Lara Bai, widow of Jeswant Rao. The conspiracy was crushed as soon as it was discovered through the assistance of Ghaffur Khan and Zalim Singh of Kôta. The unfortunate ladies, whose names were associated with it, were put to death, while the pretender himself fled to Khandeish. He subsequently collected a small party of followers and made another attempt to assert his claims ; but he was completely defeated, and compelled to fly.

It seems unnecessary to follow closely the miserable intrigues of this period. The army was in a chronic state of mutiny, ever clamouring for arrears of pay. The treasury was empty. Tantia Jogh, Ganpat Rao, Bala Ram, and Ghaffur Khan contested the favour of the Regent ; and even Mina Bai, the servant of Harika

* "The Government, if such it may be designated, of Holkar was alternately swayed by two factions, the Mahrattas and the Pathans, who were constantly intriguing against each other, and nothing could exceed the state of anarchy which prevailed throughout the country—at the Court, bribery, execution, and murders ; in the provinces, violence, rapine, and bloodshed"—*Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas*, p. 608.

Bai, the concubine, intrigued for power. No one was deemed too base to fill the highest posts. Ministers, Commanders, and Governors were all taken from the dregs of the people. It was a company in which no respectable man could have found a place. The unfortunate people who did play a part in the wretched drama came to an unhappy end for the most part. The Regent was executed, Mina Bai was tortured to death, and Bala Ram was murdered. But here we are anticipating events.

The repeated mutinies of the troops may be partly ascribed to the machinations of Amir Khan, who, in order to increase his own influence, tried to undermine the power of Tulsa Bai. At this time the Court was at Gangraur, a town on the Kali Sind River. The Regent was becoming impatient of the control exercised by Amir Khan, through Ghaffur Khan, over her actions, and the latter anticipating an attack, drew off his own troops, and those that were disposed to take his part, in a manner that precipitated hostilities. Tulsa Bai, with the young prince, on an elephant, moved out of Gangraur, accompanied by the Mahratta horse, and attacked the disaffected forces of the Pathan commander. A general engagement ensued, in which the regent preserved her presence of mind and courage until a shot struck the howdah. This alarmed her and created a panic among her troops. She mounted a horse, placed little Malhar Rao on another, in front of her minister and paramour, Ganpat Rao, and galloped away south, followed by the household cavalry to Alaut, distant about sixteen miles. Ghaffur Khan now separated his interests completely from those of Tulsa Bai; and the whole strength of the State was

*The battle of
Gangraur.*

divided between the two factions; the former of which backed up by Amir Khan possessed superior means and forces; and the latter the person of the young prince and the fidelity of the Mahratta cavalry. Tantia Jogh, who was the ablest supporter of the Regent, now entered into an engagement with Sindia's Governor at Mandessôr, by which he obtained the aid of Ambaji's legion consisting of five battalions and thirty pieces of ordnance, in return for a money payment sufficient for their maintenance.

Attitude of
Sindia and
Amir Khan,
1815-16.

Sindia and Amir Khan were equally anxious to turn to their own profit the misfortunes and distractions of the Holkar State. The former sent an envoy to Amir Khan begging him to desist from measures that would ruin the family of Holkar, and requesting him to comply with the wishes of Tulsâ Bai and remove Ghaffur Khan from the threatening position he occupied. The Pathan Captain was not disposed to receive instructions from Daulat Rao; but with ulterior purposes, inimical to Tulsâ Bai, he promised to arrange a settlement of all differences, if she would consent to his returning to her Court. In this negotiation he was supported by Zalim Singh of Kôta, who offered to become security for the full performance of these overtures. But Tulsâ Bai judged rightly that she would gain nothing by the presence of Amir Khan; and she accordingly insisted that Ghaffur Khan should be recalled, and the disaffected infantry quieted as preliminary arrangements. This not being effected, both parties agreed to allow Zalim Singh act as arbiter, and Tantia Jogh with the Mahratta troops, and Ghaffur Khan with his followers, proceeded to a place twelve miles from Zalim Singh's canton-

ments, and entered upon a negotiation that lasted for ^{A negotiation,} 1817. three months ; but which led to no solution of the difficulties in question. While still disputing, the news arrived that British troops were concentrating on Malwa, and the disputants broke up their congress to prepare for the changed aspect of affairs.

For some time the Peishwa Baji Rao, influenced ^{Mahratta confederacy.} by the infamous Trimbakji, had been trying to unite once more the great Mahratta Chiefs in common cause against the British. A considerable advance of money was offered to the bankrupt Court of Holkar by agents from Puna, and was, after some deliberation, accepted; and a resolution to march to the Deckan was proclaimed and all arrangements made to carry it into effect. With this intention, an army was assembled about twenty miles from Mehidpur ; to which place it afterwards marched. An advance of one lakh and sixty thousand rupees had been made to the troops, and more was promised after the army had crossed the Narbadda. But while at Mehidpur, the arrival of a force under General Malcolm* at Agar, about forty-five miles distant, and the march of another corps under the Commander-in-Chief Sir T. Hislop into Malwa, were announced and caused considerable consternation.

From Agar General Malcolm addressed a letter ^{Negotiation.} to the young prince Malhar Rao ; but before this reached the camp, a communication had been sent to him in the name of Malhar Rao, calling upon him, as a former friend of the family, to preserve the ties

* General Malcolm reached Agar on the 4th December, 1817 ; and the 1st division under Sir T. Hislop crossed the Narbadda on its march to Ujjain on the 1st of December.

of peace. To General Malcolm's letter, offering to send an officer to arrange terms of peace, no answer was sent however; and he accordingly marched towards Ujjain by Turana, advising the Holkar ministers to send agents to Sir T. Hislop, the Commander-in-Chief of the British force, at Ujjain, if they desired to prevent a rupture of peaceful relations. This they did; and the most liberal terms were offered them. These were comprised in ten articles, and their moderate purport was to restore the Government of Holkar to a condition in which it could be tolerated by other States, a condition that necessarily concluded a complete separation from the Pindarries, a reduction of a great part of the mutinous army, and, in short, the general abandonment of the predatory system. The British Government offered, moreover, a gratuitous aid to effect this change; and so far from demanding any cession of territory, engaged to assist Holkar's Government with funds to pay the arrears of the troops it was called upon to discharge. But the envoys declaring the inability of the ministers to deal with the mutinous troops, were further told that if the young prince were brought into the English camp, the Commander-in-Chief would undertake the reduction of the turbulent rabble that had so long devastated the territories of the Chief it pretended to serve. But there was no head in Holkar's army; and the commandants of battalions, satisfied that an alliance with the British would put an end to the distractions that gave them importance, were resolved upon hostilities. Daily depredations were made on the cattle and followers of the British army, and on the day before Sir Terms offered
by the British
Government

Thomas Hislop advanced on Mehidpur, his vedettes were attacked. Every movement evinced determined hostility.

In the camp of Malhar Rao even the semblance of discipline no longer existed, and questions of peace and war were debated by clamorous mobs of insolent and ignorant adventurers. Tulsa Bai was, from the first, disposed to go over with the young prince to the British camp, and this circumstance, combined with many an old grudge, made the insurgent leaders resolve upon her destruction. She was seized and carried to the banks of the Kshipra, where her head was severed from her body, and the latter thrown into the river, being denied the common rites of a Hindu funeral. Thus died before the age of thirty the beautiful, the fascinating, the witty and the profligate concubine, who for more than ten years had exercised supreme control over the fortunes of the House of Holkar.

The death of
Tulsa Bai,
December
20th, 1817.

Malhar Rao II.

On the day on which Tulsa Bai was seized, the British army advanced to within ten miles of Holkar's camp on the Kshipra; and on the morning of the 21st a large body of cavalry crossed to the right bank of the river to meet the British troops. On the previous day a letter had been addressed to Malhar Rao, warning him for the last time of the dangers of the situation; and now while his troops were advancing to the attack, a reply was received in his name, concluding with the sentence—"If you advance, recollect it is the army of Holkar." Notwithstanding the disunion and anarchy in the camp of Holkar, his troops now, in presence of a common

The battle of
Mehidpur,
December
21st, 1817.

danger, operated coherently, and were commanded with judgment and spirit. The cavalry, whose advance opened the action, took up a post well calculated to embarrass the movements of the English by threatening their stores and baggage ; while the infantry and guns, of which there were nearly seventy, occupied a strong and well-connected line protected on the right by a deep water-course and on the left by the steep bank of the river. The British troops advanced in line, and avoiding all skirmishing, attacked simultaneously the entire front of the enemy. A short but fierce conflict ensued ; when the Holkar troops broke, dissolved and fled in the wildest confusion. The cavalry which had so boldly advanced at first, was the first to give way when the action grew warm ; and the infantry followed their example before the artillery ceased its destructive fire. The young Prince, Malhar Rao, who was present on an elephant, behaved with spirit ; and when he saw his troops retreating, he burst into tears and entreated them to return. His cousin, Hari Rao, who afterwards succeeded to the gaddi, fought gallantly, and his sister, Bima Bai, a young widow of twenty, rode bravely at the head of 2,500 horse on a magnificent charger with a sword by her side and a lance* in her hand. Thus on their last field of battle the family of Holkar maintained their reputation for personal courage.

The defeated army retreated through Sitamau to a place sixteen miles beyond Mandessôr. General

* Few, we are told, could surpass Bima Bai in the management of a horse and the use of a spear. She possessed the fiery temperament of her father, not unmixed with the hereditary taint of insanity.

Malcolm's division in full pursuit reached the latter town, and received there the draft of a preliminary treaty, which had been sent after the fugitive army, and which was now returned duly executed. Tantia Jogh came into camp on the following day ; and on the 6th of January the Treaty of Mandessôr was concluded,* by which the supremacy of Holkar over the Rajput Chiefs of Udaipur, Jaipur, Jôdhpur, Kôta, Bundi, Karauli, &c., was transferred to the British Government ; the engagement between the British Government and Amir Khan was confirmed ; four districts, rented by Zalim Singh of Kôta, were ceded to him ; and Holkar lost all his possessions within and to the south of the Satpura hills, while his remaining territories came under the protection of the British Government.

The Treaty of
Mandessôr,
January 6th,
1818.

It was no easy matter, however, to carry into effect the provisions of this Treaty,† owing to the general terms in which it was conceived, and the complicated relations then subsisting between the Holkar Government and the petty States of Malwa. Their territories being so chequered and interlaced, it was exceedingly difficult to determine what particular territory or possession had been restored to Holkar, and what alienated ; but in the course of a lengthy correspondence that ensued, a liberal interpretation was given to the questionable points so far as was compatible with the engagements which had been entered into about

Giving effect
to the Treaty.

* Aitchison. Malcolm's narrative only carries us down to this point.

† *The Agra Guide and Gazetteer*, Part II, p. 175, a work published about the year 1840. The account of the Holkar family in this work was compiled by one of the Assistants to the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India.

the same time with other States, for it was assumed that the rupture with the British Government had occurred in opposition to the wishes of the young Malhar Rao, then in his twelfth year, and in defiance of the counsels of his legitimate advisers. Nearly all the petty Rajput principalities in Malwa had become tributary to either Sindia or Holkar, and it was now a most arduous task to separate and adjust these complicated relations. It is not now necessary, however, to enter into any detail of the measures pursued for this purpose, but it will be well to describe the general pecuniary condition of the Holkar State subsequent to the treaty.

The revenue
in 1826.

It was estimated that what remained of the Holkar State in Malwa would yield under good management an annual revenue of about thirty lakhs. Tantia Jogh raised it to twenty-seven lakhs, and at his death in 1826 it was steadily increasing. In addition to this the family enjoyed a large income derived from five collateral sources, *viz.* :—

Collateral sources of income.	Rs.
1st.—Payable by the British Govern- ment in compensation for Kis- hori Patan transferred to Bundi	30,000
2nd.—Payable by the British Govern- ment during the lifetime of Bima Bai (Bolia), the annual proceeds of the Kunch Parganna	1,80,000
3rd.—The Partabghar tribute, payable through the British Govern- ment...	72,000
Carried over	<hr/> 2,82,000

		Rs.
	Brought forward	2,82,000
4th.—The Narshinghar tribute	...	60,000
5th.—Claims on estates in parts of Khan-deish and the Deckan, subsequently restored as an act of grace by the British Government.	About Rs.	1,00,000
	TOTAL Rs.	4,42,000

Adding this sum of four lakhs and forty-two thousand rupees to the revenue of twenty-seven lakhs of rupees collected by Tantia Jogh, we have a total of upwards of thirty-one lakhs of rupees as the entire income of the Holkar family after the treaty of Mandessôr.

This is sufficient to show what the Holkars gained by their defeat at Mehidpur, and the consequent engagements entered into with the British, for Tantia Jogh admitted that, in 1817, the year previous to the Treaty, the revenue of the State did not amount to five lakhs of rupees, and that even this sum was raised in great part by violence, and might be regarded rather as the gains of a plundering army than the revenue of a sovereign State.

The Court, which previous to 1818 resided chiefly at Mahesar and Rampura, was finally removed in that year to Indore. Soon after the removal Tantia Jogh began to discharge all superfluous troops and establishments, and to introduce order and economy into the management of affairs. In furtherance of this he received every aid and encouragement from the British Government. The territories so often desolated, and the cities so often plundered, yielded at first but little

revenue, and loans were required to carry on the administration. Government advanced money on the security of the Kunch jagir and Partabghar tribute, which enabled the minister to pay the arrears due to the disbanded troops and to discharge other pressing claims. Of the force retained, a portion was set apart to form the Contingent, and sent under the orders of a British officer to Mehidpur; detachments were sent into the districts to enforce order; and only a picked body of about five hundred horse was kept in the capital to serve as the chief's escort, together with a suitable proportion of infantry to protect the city and perform the duties of an armed police.

Troops
disbanded.
Insurrec-
tions, 1819.

In 1819 two insurrections broke out, which greatly retarded the settlement of the country. One was occasioned by an impostor, named Krishna Kuar, personating Malhar Rao; and the other by the pretensions of Hari Rao, the Chief's cousin. Krishna Kuar assembled an army to the west of the Chambal and kept the field for some months, supported by a body of Arab and Mekranni mercenaries from the Guzarat frontier; but he was at length encountered and his supporters dispersed by the Mehidpur Contingent. He fled to Kôta, but was there apprehended by an agent of the Holkar Government and sent to Indore, where, on account of his youth and insignificance, he was pardoned and set at liberty. The insurrection of Hari Rao assumed less formidable dimensions, for soon becoming sensible of the folly of his enterprise, he abandoned it, and threw himself upon the generosity of his cousin, who, it is said, was disposed to pardon him, but was dissuaded from doing so by Tantia Jogh. He was, accordingly, confined at Mahesar.

In 1821 serious disturbances broke out on the ^{Disturbances on Rampura frontier, 1821.} Rampura frontier, fomented by the Thakur of Bhatkeri and others, which were not finally quelled until the beginning of the following year, and after the employment of a portion of the Contingent horse and local foot under a British officer. The Thakur's misconduct was punished by the sequestration of the lands he held from the Holkar Government; and two of the ringleaders, Bhairo Singh and Ajit Singh, were more severely dealt with. The forts of Ahmadgarh and Datouli, the strength of which had encouraged the occupants to repeated acts of rebellion, were dismantled.

Towards the end of 1822 it again became necessary to employ a detachment of British troops and ^{Reduction of Barkhera, 1822.} irregulars under a British officer for the reduction of the fort of Barkhera, in which a body of insurgents had assembled.

Tantia Jogh, to whom belongs the credit of having ^{Death of Tantia Jogh, 1826.} raised the affairs of the Holkar family from a condition of the utmost depression and embarrassment to one of substantial prosperity, died in April, 1826. He had adopted his eldest daughter's child, Ganesa Vital Jogh; and a few days after his death, this boy was formally invested by Malhar Rao as titular Dewan of the State. The Deputy Minister, Raoji Trimbak, was now entrusted with the conduct of affairs; but proving himself incompetent, was soon superseded by Daiji Bakshi, who, speedily showed himself to be equally unqualified for the office, and who was removed in favour of Appa Rao Krishna, a clever Duckanni Brahmin.

* The exclusive purchase of the opium grown in ^{Opium.} Malwa to balance the monopoly on the other side of

India and control prices had attracted the attention of the British Government soon after its more intimate connection with the province had become established ; but owing to the numerous complex difficulties that opposed such an arrangement, the scheme was not adjusted until December, 1826, when an engagement* was entered into, which defined the

* In Part II of the *Agra Guide and Gazetteer*, p. 178, this engagement is given.

I.—The Maharaja's Government engages to confine the cultivation of poppy in his territories within an extent calculated to yield a quantity not exceeding in any year five thousand Surat maunds of dry opium, each maund consisting of four punseires, and each punseiree weighing four hundred and one Ujjain rupees, or three hundred and ninety-one new, or four hundred and seven old Farrakhabad Kaldar rupees.

II.—Of the quantity of opium produced in the Maharaja's territories, one thousand maunds, or more, if required, may be reserved for internal consumption ; the remainder, not exceeding four thousand maunds, shall be delivered to, and received by, the British Government.

III.—The Maharaja's Government shall each year, on or before the 1st of July, declare to the Company's Opium Agent in Malwa the quantity of opium which they may propose to deliver under the above stipulation at the end of the year.

IV.—The opium delivered to the British Government shall consist of pure opium in dry cakes, such as their Agent is in the practice of purchasing from the merchants in Malwa. It should be delivered and weighed *in all* (sic.) November and December, at the Hon'ble Company's godowns at Indore or Mehidpur, as may be desired by the Company's Opium Agent, who may reject whatever opium shall be considered by him adulterated, damp, mildewed, or otherwise faulty.

V.—The British Government engages to pay for the opium to be received by it under the above stipulations at the rate of thirty Farrakhabad, Kaldar, or Ujjain Indore Hali rupees for each punseiree, by instalments, as follows :—one of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees on the 1st November ; one of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees on the 1st January ; one of one lakh and twenty thousand rupees on the 1st March, and the balance of the account to be settled as soon as the opium shall have been delivered and weighed.

VI.—The Maharaja's Government engages to prevent, to the best of its power, the exportation of opium from and through his territories not having the sanction of the British authorities, and to confine the sale of opium for internal consumption in his territories to vendors under its license. Any quantities passing in and out, that may be stopped of their

terms of the monopoly. Similar engagements were entered into with Dhar, Dewas, Ratlam, Jaora, Kôta, Sillana, Partabgarh, Amjhira, Sitamau, and Narsinghgarh, and an exclusive trade was thus established by Government, which yielded, on an average, a yearly revenue of thirty-one lakhs. Serious evils,* however, resulted from these arrangements, and in 1829 the monopoly was abandoned, and a transit duty was levied upon the opium in its passage through the British territories to the seacoast. At first this change was attended with loss, a revenue of only sixteen lakhs being obtained ; but the proceeds of the duty have now risen to upwards of two hundred and eighty-eight lakhs, or two million eight hundred and eighty-one thousand pounds sterling a year,† the extent of poppy cultivation having immensely increased.

own motion by the officers or agents of the Maharaja's Government, shall be delivered over to the Company's Agent, and the Maharaja's Government will receive two-thirds of the value of the same, rated at thirty rupees per punseiree, if pure and good, or less in proportion to the quality, if of inferior quality. The British authorities, moreover, shall be at liberty to cause to be stopped, and appropriate any opium herein prohibited, which they may discover passing through the Maharaja's territories, and for all such, the Maharaja's Government shall receive one-third of the value rated according to the quality as above stated.

VII.—The British Government engages to pay the Maharaja's Government each year a sum equivalent to the net profit derived on the sale of 200 pecul chests of opium containing each 14 punseires, calculated with reference to the average of prices obtained at the Company's sales in Calcutta and Bombay of the Malwa opium of the previous season.

VIII.—The British Government engages to pay the Maharaja's Government at the end of each year, the sum of Farrakhabad or Ujjain Indore rupees one lakh, provided it shall have faithfully observed the conditions of this engagement.

IX.—This engagement shall hold good as long as the British Government may deem it expedient to maintain special arrangements for the control of Malwa opium.

* Aitchison.

† The amount of duty realised in 1877 amounted to Rs. 2,88,10,800.

The Begu
Thakur's
inroad, 1829.

In June, 1829, the Begu Thakur, a feudatory of the Maharana of Udaipur, seized Holkar's district of Nandwai. The invader was expelled by a body of Holkar's troops, but the inroad was repeated about a year later, and the Thakur had to be driven out by Holkar's troops together with the Contingent under the command of a British officer. The Udaipur Durbar was held responsible for this act of aggression, and was required to pay Holkar an indemnity of twenty-four thousand rupees for loss and expense incurred in repelling the first inroad. This sum was not realized for eight years; and for the second act of aggression no compensation was ever obtained.* In this, as in similar cases elsewhere, it was a matter of complaint on the part of Holkar's Durbar, that while the British Government prohibited them from taking their own measures to redress injuries, it displayed no vigour or promptitude in obtaining redress for them.

Misgovern-
ment.

The extravagance of Malhar Rao Holkar, his weakness in yielding himself up to the pernicious influence of favourites and his entire neglect of State affairs, rendered it a most difficult task for any one to conduct the administration efficiently; and from the date of Tantia Jogh's death the revenue gradually decreased, and all public business lapsed into utter confusion. The treasury was again empty, the troops again mutinous, while the chief remained listless and indifferent. The clamour for arrears of pay now grew so loud, however, and the demand for money to carry on the Government became so urgent, that the Maha-

* Aitchison.

raja was compelled to take measures to relieve embarrassments created by his own folly. By the dismissal of Appa Rao and by promises of amendment he succeeded in persuading his mother to assist him from her private purse ; and at her desire, Madhu Rao Far- Madhu Rao Farnavese. navese was entrusted with the executive charge of the Government, but without being formally appointed to the office of Minister.

Some alarm and excitement was created in Malwa A fanatic and impostor, 1831. towards the end of 1831 by the appearance in the Sathmahal of a fanatic who pretended to be inspired by Khandi Rao Deota and to be gifted with the power of working miracles. Through the knavery of some and the credulity of others, he managed to gather together a large body of followers ; and raising the standard of rebellion, he sent injunctions to the village headmen not to pay their revenue to any but himself. Assuming the name of Alija Bahadur he declared that he would proclaim himself at the Dassahra, and receive collections of revenue. The success of this impostor for a time was surprising. He obtained large voluntary contributions of money and grain, and the ranks of his adherents were daily recruited by simple villagers and restless adventurers. The District Deputy-Governors being unable to suppress, or even to resist, the movement, it became necessary to assemble a considerable force of horse and foot, with some guns, to restore order. Troops were detached from the Mehidpur Contingents of Holkar, Jaora, and Dewas, and under command of Captain McMahon, encountered and defeated the insurgents at Deoguraria. The impostor was shot dead at the commencement of the engagement. Thus ended a movement which,

among a superstitious and credulous people, might have assumed very formidable proportions.

Martand Rao.

Death of
Malhar Rao
II, 1833.

Malhar Rao Holkar died in October, 1833, at the age of twenty-eight, an early victim to every form of debauchery. He left no issue; but at the moment of his death, his young widow, Gotama Bai, in concurrence with his mother Kesaira Bai, adopted* the infant son of Bapu Holkar, Martand Rao (a first cousin of the present Maharaja, Tukaji Rao). This child, between three and four years of age, was publicly installed on the 17th of January, 1834, as successor to

Martand
Rao installed
17th January
1834.

Malhar Rao Holkar, under the style and title of Maharaja Martand Rao Holkar; the management of affairs continuing as heretofore in the hands of Madhu Rao Farnavese under instructions from the late chief's mother, the Ma-Sahiba. But another claimant to the *gaddi* soon appeared in the person of Hari Rao Holkar,† who, for the last fourteen years,

* Extract from Political letter from Government of India, No 12, July 31st, 1834 :—"Mr. Martin reported the death of Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, on the 27th of October last, and the adoption of a successor in the person of a son of Bapu. With regard to the adoption which had taken place, it was intimated to Captain Robinson, who had been appointed to the charge of the Residency on the absence of Mr. Martin on leave, that we were not aware that it was open to any objection, and the usual letter of condolence was accordingly addressed to the widow of the late Maharaja. We deemed it proper, however, to observe on this occasion, that the British Government was not to be considered as bound to support this arrangement if it should appear to be illegal or subversive of the rights of any other party, or contrary to the wishes of the majority of the chiefs and followers of the Holkar State. It was acknowledged simply as the spontaneous and unopposed act of the Holkar Government, in which the people of that State seemingly acquiesced.

† Extract from Political letter from Government of India, No. 12, July 31st, 1834 :—"We had in the meantime received a despatch from

had been lying in prison at Mahesar, where his cousin had confined him : and his* pretensions seem to have been more acceptable to the people. The Ma-Sahiba naturally preferred the succession of the child, during whose minority her influence would be paramount in the State ; and the British Government had no desire to interfere with any reasonable arrangement conformable with precedent, pleasing to the family of Holkar and generally acquiesced in by the people of Indore. But Hari Rao was now a man of mature years ; he was the nearest surviving male relative of the late chief ; he had fought gallantly at Mehidpur ; and interest was excited in the sad fate that had doomed him to so many years of imprisonment. These considerations were brought into stronger relief by the

Mr. Martin, reminding us of the existence of Hari Rao, the son of Ektoji, the eldest illegitimate brother of the late Jeswant Rao Holkar, who had been confined for many years in the Fort of Mahesar, where he was still a prisoner. Mr. Martin observed that although Hari Rao could have no legitimate claim to the inheritance of his late cousin, which, according to the maxims of Hindu law, belonged of right to the adopted son, yet, if no adoption had been made, and expediency had been the only guide to a determination of the question of succession, the mature age of this descendant from a collateral branch of the late Mahanraja's family might perhaps have suggested the propriety of conferring it upon him."

* *From the Resident, Indore, to the Secretary, Government of India, December 23rd, 1833.*—"Judging from the casual observations made to me by natives of respectability and intelligence unconnected with the present Indore authorities, it seems to be the general opinion that, without the decided support of the British Government, the present order of things cannot be maintained for any length of time ; the persons now in power are neither feared nor respected, and are evidently themselves alarmed at the prospect before them in the increasing popularity of Hari Rao's cause. Should Hari Rao escape from confinement, it is by no means improbable that he would immediately be joined by a considerable proportion of the troops of the State, some of whom served with him in the battle of Mehidpur, where he is said to have acquired their respect and attachment by the courage he displayed on that occasion."

fact that the existing management of the State was exciting the liveliest dissatisfaction among all classes.* When, therefore, the news reached Indore that he had been forcibly released by a considerable armed party of his adherents, assisted by Bhils and Mewattis from the neighbouring hills, and had been proclaimed head of the House of Holkar, the greatest consternation was felt at the palace and throughout the city among the partisans of the Ma-Sahiba. The Political authorities were urged to intervene in favour of the young prince ; but the Resident at Indore was compelled to reply that the adoption had been the sole act of the late-Chief's family ; that it had been recognized as such, but in no way sanctioned or ratified by the British Government ; that the selection of an heir which had been made

Release of
HariRao Hol-
kar, 3rd
Feb., 1834.

* *From the Assistant Resident, Indore (on express service), to the Officiating Resident, Indore, Mandesar, February 3rd, 1834.*—"I have the honor to report a successful attempt having been last night made on the Fort of Mahesar, by a party consisting of some four or five hundred armed men, the result of which has been the release of Hari Holkar from confinement, and his having been proclaimed, in the ancient capital, head of the State."

From the Officiating Resident, Indore, to the Secretary, Governor-General, Fort St. George, No. 23, February 10th, 1834.—"From the moment that accounts were received of the liberation of Hari Holkar up to the present time, I have been incessantly importuned by the Indore authorities to interpose the aid of our troops in support of the existing arrangement, on the ground of the adoption being legal and consonant to usage, and that we are bound by treaty to preserve the internal tranquillity of the State. To these appeals and remonstrances I have usually replied that, with regard to the legality of the adoption, or its consonance to usage, considerable doubts were entertained ; but that, however this might be, there was unequivocal proof of the unpopularity of the measures ; that the British Government had at all times been indisposed to interfere with its allied States in questions of internal arrangement ; had given no pledge on the present occasion to support any particular party, and could not be expected to incur the odium of upholding an act which, whether right or wrong, was evidently opposed to the general voice of the community concerned ; that the arrangement was their own, and they must take the consequences."

was evidently displeasing to the people ; and that it would be a departure from the policy pursued on such occasions to interfere.

Hari Rao.

As soon as Hari Rao was released, he notified the circumstance, and his assumption of the sovereign power to the Political officer at Mandesar, and the communication was duly reported to the Resident at Indore. The number of his followers increased with marvellous rapidity, and the troops sent against him from Indore declared in his favour. But the novelty of his situation, and the faltering indecision engendered by long captivity still made him pause before taking a step so irrevocable as to advance on Indore. This delay, however, realised all his hopes. The Maji, abandoning all idea of being able to support the cause of Martand Rao, which was daily becoming more unpopular, made friendly overtures to Hari Rao about the end of February, and invited him to take the place vacated by the death of her son, and to seat himself on the gaddi at Indore. The invitation was received in good part, and assurances were interchanged that the past would be forgotten ; but Hari Rao's adherents could not persuade him to leave Mahesar until his application to the Resident at Indore for a military escort commanded by a British officer, to ensure his personal safety on the march, had been complied with. The necessity of acceding to his request in order to secure his presence at the capital, and so check* the disorder and anarchy that

Hari Rao announces his succession.

Hari Rao invited to assume sovereignty.

* From the Acting Resident, Indore, to the Secretary to the Governor-General, Fort St. George, February 22nd, 1834 : " Message after message

prevailed, was so manifest, that the Resident at Indore now despatched, without further hesitation, an escort of the 5th Local Horse and deputed an English officer to accompany the new Chief from Mahesar to Indore. This step was viewed with gratitude by all classes. The entire population of the State was for Hari Rao. The Resident at Indore writing to the Secretary to the Governor-General, observes : "It is a singular fact that, since the period of Hari Rao's liberation, not the slightest opposition has at any time been offered to his authority beyond the precincts of the city of Indore itself ; on the contrary all have been eager to recognise it ; his *thanas* have gradually been established in all the surrounding villages with the entire acquiescence of the local authorities, and he is considered at this moment, to all intents and purposes, the sovereign of the Holkar State ; it is now quite manifest that his presence at Indore is all that is wanting to stem the tide of anarchy which has prevailed for the last three weeks."

Hari Rao installed April 17th, 1834.

On the 17th of April Hari Rao was formally installed on the gaddi in presence of the British Resident and his staff, who shortly afterwards, under instructions from the Governor-General, conferred upon him a khilat of investiture, receiving from His Highness in return a nazar of corresponding value.

was immediately sent to me by the Maji and by Gotama Bai, entreating that I would instantly repair to the palace for their protection, that the city was a scene of tumult and disorder, the inhabitants deserting it in fear of their lives, the mutinous soldiery quarrelling among themselves, and threatening every species of insult and outrage unless their arrears of pay were immediately liquidated."

Martand Rao was now sent to the Deckan under <sup>Martand Rao
is sent to</sup> the Deckan a guard ; and an allowance of Rs. 500 a month was granted him, on condition of his resigning all claims to the succession. This was soon followed by the seizure and confinement of nearly all the advisers of the Maji ; but their fate neither excited, nor deserved, much commiseration, for they were very properly regarded as the responsible authors of the many evils which had recently afflicted the State. Ultimately most of them were released, after they had been made to disgorge the sums they had embezzled from the State funds.

The office of minister was now conferred upon a <sup>Rivaji
Phansia.</sup> person named Rivaji Phansia, who was at one time in Jeswant Rao's service, but had been, for the last fifteen years, living in great poverty in the Deckan. A more unhappy selection could not have been made ; for besides being entirely ignorant of all the duties of this office, and knowing nothing of the state of the country, his personal character and habits were ill-calculated to raise the reputation of the new administration. His first act was to marry his son, Raja Bhao, like himself a confirmed drunkard, to an illegitimate daughter of the Maharaja's, and to bestow upon them the District of Turand ; thus at one stroke alienating from the impoverished State an annual sum of about one lakh of rupees. His connection with the Holkar family being thus rivetted, he rapidly obtained the greatest influence over Hari Rao, whose mind had been warped and enfeebled by long captivity.

* The low state of the finances and the clamorous ^{Administrative difficulties} demands for arrears of pay and gratuities on the part

of the large bodies of troops assembled at Indore presented the most formidable difficulties with which the administration had to contend ; and three serious mutinies, which were quelled partly by fair promises and partly by force, served to show the Maharaja that his popularity was already on the wane. At the end of 1834, when the new Government was supposed to be somewhat organized, and when the needy rabble that accompanied the chief to Indore had been dispersed, this lamentable financial result was arrived at, —that while the revenue had dwindled to Rs. 9,25,000, the expenditure had swollen to Rs. 23,69,000 ; the charges on account of the army alone coming to Rs. 11,92,000. The object of Rivaji Phansia was to retain his master in a state of bondage by working on his fears of mutinies and conspiracies, and the number of troops was augmented or reduced according to the difficulty of attaining this end. To supply* the requisite funds for their maintenance, the pernicious system of obtaining loans from bankers upon the security of present and future revenue was resorted to.

Hari Rao married, 1835. In February, 1835, the Maharaja was married to Hira Bai, the daughter of an obscure peasant Sevaji Girguna.

The oppressive administration of Rivaji Phansia reflecting on the chief, revived the hopes of the party lately ejected from power and led to a conspiracy, which nearly cost Hari Rao his throne and his life. For many months it had been currently rumoured

* Other measures still less creditable were had recourse to. The Maji in spite of former protestations, was plundered of her private property.

that plans were in agitation for subverting the existing Government and replacing Martand Rao on the gaddi and that armed parties were assembling for this purpose at Ujjain and at other places in its vicinity. The principal leaders of these parties were said to be Madhu Rao Farnavese, Kandu Pant, and other banished adherents of the late Administration ; and Rukma Bai, widow of Tantia Jogh, was rumoured to be secretly assisting the conspirators through the influence of her high station and great wealth.* These reports led to precautions being taken against a sudden attack upon Indore. The main thoroughfares leading to the city were patrolled and guarded, spies were extensively employed, all the doors of the palace, not absolutely required, were barred up, and detachments of troops were posted in and around its precincts. Yet the Maharaja rightly judged that he was not safe. No one could be trusted ; and treachery rendered all the precautions that had been taken abortive.

A little before day-break, on September 8th, 1835, ^{A conspiracy, 1835.} a party of about 300 Mekrannis suddenly entered the city, headed by Raghu Kuar and Kandu Pant ; the former an officer who had held a command in one of the household regiments of the late Chief, and the latter a Mahratta Karkun who had charge of the domestic servants under the former Government. This party, so far from meeting with any opposition, was allowed to reach the palace unmolested, and was there admitted by one of the servants through a gate leading into the courtyard, where some of the Maharaja's troops joined them. Had the assailants now

* At this time *Amal* of Ujjain

Failure of the conspiracy.

proceeded without delay to force their way into the apartments occupied by Hari Rao and Rivaji Phansia, there can be no doubt but that their enterprise would have succeeded; but their two leaders first went to the Maji to claim her support and ask for instructions. She declined to have any thing to say to the attempt, and reproached them for their conduct. They returned to their men, who, having been attacked in the meantime when without leaders, were now running wildly hither and thither involved in the labyrinth of passages and corridors that wind in every direction through the palace. Some finding that all was lost, slew themselves with their swords, and the others were destroyed in a general massacre. Not less than four hundred and fifty lives were taken.

Alarm of the Chief.

The alarm which this attempt created in the mind of the Maharaja was naturally great; and although the attack was repulsed, yet the manifest treachery of his troops and attendants rendered him more distrustful than ever of the people by whom he was surrounded. Rukma Bai was removed from Ujjain by Sindia, and all her property in the Holkar State was confiscated. The delays, however, which occurred in obtaining adequate redress led to the deputation of an agent to Calcutta to lay a complaint on this and some other points before the Governor-General; but nothing came of the mission. At an early period of the attack, the Maharaja had applied to the Resident for aid; but it was refused on the ground that the engagement to maintain the internal tranquillity of the country depended on the condition that the measures of its Government were not directly or indirectly the cause of disturbance, and because the grant of assistance

would require a continual interference in the internal affairs of the State inconsistent with the position of Holkar and the policy of the British Government.

Henceforth the sole care of Rivaji Phansia was to provide against a recurrence of the danger, by erecting fortifications, collecting military stores, massing all the forces of the State in Indore, and pulling down all houses that commanded the palace. It seems to be doubtful whether the Minister himself ever apprehended a second attack; but he effectually rendered the Maharaja a mere puppet in his hands, and succeeded in excluding all respectable people from the palace, rendering it the head quarters of a lawless rabble. The real business of Government at this time fell into a state of total stagnation, while the chief remained a prisoner in the power of his servants.

Seclusion of
Hari Rao,
1836.

For fourteen months he never once quitted his private apartments.

Pecuniary embarrassments on all sides, and the difficulty of paying the troops at length worked a change. No bankers could now be found so imprudent as to advance money in support of the Minister's policy, so he retired from the administration, and an arrangement took place by which the duties of the Minister were to be carried on in the name of Vital Mahadeo, an appellation by which the late Tantia Jogh and his firm were distinguished among native bankers, while the executive charge of the Government was assigned to Salik Ram Mantri, a former gumashta of Tantia's, as the Minister's representative.

Retirement
of Rivaji
Phansia,
November,
1836.

Nevertheless the state of affairs at Indore gradually became perfectly intolerable. No administration existed at all. There was no security for life or property.

Anarchy,
1837-38.

Every soldier, every palace servant, every sturdy rogue was a tyrant. The miserable Chief himself was bullied and insulted. The palace was crowded with cut-throats, who were afraid of one another, and who were detested and abhorred by every respectable person. It was impossible to permit this abominable anarchy any longer. Hari Rao was accordingly informed that the British Government would be laid under the necessity of assuming the management of affairs unless

Measures of reform.

within a fixed period the Resident at Indore could report a material amelioration in the state of things within the Holkar territories. This remonstrance was not without effect. The Maharaja now appointed as his Minister one Appa Bulal, and after a time some progress towards reform became apparent. The administration of justice still continued to be most defective, the most heinous offences being usually punished with short periods of imprisonment, and misdemeanors being altogether overlooked. But the arrears of the military and civil establishments were paid up to a recent date, and the domestic servants of the Maharaja were removed from the high offices which they nominally filled to make way for more respectable occupants. In the districts some of the more rascally *amals* were dismissed, and remissions of revenue were granted in places that had suffered most from exaction. The Resident was accordingly able to report favorably on the intentions of the new Government, and the Governor-General directed that

The Governor-General's approval.

his satisfaction with the measures in progress should be signified through the Political Officer at Indore to the Maharaja; and on the reports continuing favorable the same sentiments were communicated directly to

Hari Rao Holkar in a letter from the Governor-General.

During* the administration of Appa Bulal, a man Bhawani Din, called Bhawani Din Bakshi rose to some importance. He had been in the British service and had acquired a slight knowledge of public business, and being an artful, intriguing fellow, he soon managed to acquire influence over the weak and vacillating mind of the Maharaja. This influence was of the worst description, and led to the worst effects. Bhawani Din did everything he could to create in the mind of his master a distrust of the British officers at the Residency, and gradually the advice that had led to a partial reform began to be forgotten, and affairs, now virtually under the direction of Bhawani Din, began to slide into the old grooves of corruption and violence. Appa Bulal lost all control over the Government, and again every vestige of order and system began to disappear. It was part of the policy of this self-appointed minister to create an impression on the minds of the people that the existing irresponsible state of affairs had the support of the British Government; and this idea became so prevalent that Sir Claude Wade, the Resident, was obliged to make a representation to the Maharaja on the subject, while urging upon him the necessity of again setting his house in order. The advice was not altogether thrown away on His Highness, and an enquiry into the condition of the finance was

* From this point I use a "Narrative of Events" (in lithograph) prepared under the direction of Sir R. N. Hamilton, Bart., Resident at Indore. This paper, up to the period of Sir Robert Hamilton's appointment to Indore, is chiefly compiled from a file of correspondence relating to adoption, and afterwards (in 1856) printed for the House of Commons. This correspondence is also before me.

after a time instituted. This at once revealed the rottenness of the administration. Embezzlement, peculation, extortion, and corruption were brought to light. Bhawani Din's guilt was made clear ; but he attempted to shift it on to Appa Bulal. The latter had undoubtedly been deceived and had acted weakly: but nothing in his conduct amounting to criminality was ever discovered. Yet the Maharaja, naturally penurious and ever haunted by a visionary dread of poverty, did not wait to make any enquiry, but arrested both the knave and the dupe, and suspended them from office.

No Minister,
1841.

Hari Rao now roused himself for a time from his apathy, and conducting affairs himself, initiated some trifling measures of reform. But there being no responsible minister now with whom the Resident could communicate, and the health of His Highness being very much impaired, while no heir to the gaddi had been pointed out, the situation of affairs caused anxiety ; and Sir Claude Wade* visited His Highness

* *From Lieut.-Col. Sir C. Wade, Resident at Indore, to T. H. Maddock, Esq., Secretary to Government of India, Fort William, dated 25th June, 1841.*

" I proceeded on the 19th instant in company with Captain Trevlyan " to pay a visit to the Maharaja, whom we found slightly better than he " was on the occasion of my former visit. I had intimated my wish " that the interview should be of a private nature, in consequence of " which, as soon as we had taken our seats, the persons usually in attend- " ance about His Highness retired, with the exception of his son-in-law, " Raja Bhaos, whom he directed to remain. Impressed with the delicacy " of the subject on which I was about to communicate, in its evident " tendency to remind the Maharaja of his precarious state of health, to " the possibility of an aggravation of his illness, I considered that I could " not lead him in a more suitable manner to a just contemplation of his " situation than by adverting to the disappointment which had been " experienced by his friends and subjects, and in which, I had no doubt, " my own Government would participate, in the Râni Ghâina Bai

in person to urge upon him the expediency of forming a ministry, and to suggest, with the delicacy which the subject merited, and which the nervous dis-

" having been delivered of a daughter ; that there was no subject to " which people were more sensitively alive than their posterity, and " that it was one of special importance to a ruler who had not only the " interests of his own family to consult, but also those of his country ; " that he was suffering at present from a severe recurrence of his com- " plaint from which I trusted he would recover as he had done before ; " but that as life was in the hands of God, he should reflect on the con- " cerns of his Government, and that if he had anything to impart to me " with reference to the future conduct of his affairs, I should be happy " to listen and be of any use to him that I could in preserving that " tranquillity and stability which had happily prevailed for some time " past in the increasing good order and prosperity of his family. The " Maharaja seemed to view the subject quite recklessly, and replied " that he had nothing to say, that he owed everything to the British " Government, and looked to it to do what it pleased ; and that I knew " the state of his affairs and could judge what would be best to do. " These vague and indefinite expressions were not satisfactory, and I " endeavoured to obtain a more decided expression of his views and " sentiments by reiterating the general tenor of my former observa- " tions ; but his replies were still substantially to the same effect, show- " ing symptoms of the hereditary eccentricity of his family, combined " with a wiliness of manner as if determined to elude close inquiry into " a subject about which he was either indifferent or reluctant to avow " his real opinions. He repeatedly said that he was alone in the world ; " that nobody cared for him, and once or twice desired me to consult " Raja Bhao. I said he was mistaken ; that he had many friends who " were interested in all that concerned him, among whom I hoped he " regarded me, and that it would be more gratifying if he would speak " for himself. He assented to the truth of my observation, but rambled " from the point by referring to Amir Khan and Ghaffur Khan, long since " dead, who, he said, might be summoned, and would be able to manage " matters efficiently. He also talked of Rukma Bai, saying that she " was a clever woman and had plenty of money. Seeing from his " manner that he was not in a mood to give his serious attention to the " discussion in which I wished to engage him, I shortly afterwards took " my leave, determining to send Captain Trevelyan to him on the follow- " ing day and requesting that the Maharaja would send Raja Bhao to me " next morning, in order that I might awaken His Highness, through " him also, to a proper sense of the state of his affairs, with a view to " establish the administration of them in such a manner as to facilitate " my endeavours to ensure tranquillity in the event of his demise."

Selection of a position of the chief called for, the selection of a successor, 1841.

successor. The latter topic had lately been brought into more prominence by the principal Maharani, Ghaina Bai, giving birth to a daughter, and thus disappointing hopes that had been fondly entertained of a lineal male heir.

The Maharaja evaded the points of enquiry and showed his disinclination to discuss the subject by vague replies and irrelevant remarks. The Resident, however, pursued the topic through the medium of his Assistant, Captain Trevelyan, and Raja Bhao; and was able at length to obtain some expression of the chief's views. Narayan Rao Phalsikar, an old and tried servant, whose family for three generations had served the Holkars, was indicated as the person whom His Highness was disposed to select as minister; and with reference to the succession, three boys descended from Ektoji Holkar were referred to as eligible for adoption. His Highness at the same time expressed a desire to provide suitably for his son-in-law, Raja Bhao.

Raja Bhao. Though a man of intemperate habits, Raja Bhao was not without administrative capacity. Sir Claude Wade, writing to the Government of India,* remarked, that Raja Bhao, the only near relative of His Highness, was at the same time the only person about his court who stood in an intermediate relation between him and his dependants, and that it was through his activity and exertions chiefly that the government of the country had been conducted in a manner which had left him no cause to complain, the different

* Under date June 25th, 1841.

functionaries being regularly paid, and ready attention being given to every suggestion he had to offer in his intercourse with the court.

The question of adoption was now discussed at Adoption. great length with the Government of India. It was pointed out by the Resident, that Martand Rao, by his abdication and conditional acceptance of a pension, had no further claim; but that the claim of Sakha Bai, wife of Raja Bhao, might be supported by the precedent of Ahalia Bai. To this the Governor-General replied, that it would be "quite inconsistent with usage to admit the succession of a female as titular sovereign of a Mahratta State," and that Ahalia Bai had chosen Tukaji Holkar as "the titled head of the sovereignty." Attention was accordingly directed exclusively to the adoption of an heir, and the Resident was instructed to recognise any adoption duly made by the Maharaja, or by any other person whom His Highness should empower, and who should be competent to discharge so grave a duty in conformity with the established practice of the State and family.

The reference which the Maharaja had made to the eligibility of "the descendants of Ektoji" * for adoption, immediately set a-foot numerous intrigues, one Intrigues. of which deserves notice. Raja Bhao had for some time enjoyed the confidence of his father-in-law, and his ambition was inflamed by the uncertainty of the future, the desire the Maharaja had shown to promote his prospects, and the friendly relations subsisting between him and the British authorities. Towards

* These three boys were the sons of one Ithuba (Etoji, or Ektoji) Holkar.

the Ma-Sahiba he cherished the deepest enmity. He was jealous of her influence over the troops, and he suspected her, or pretended to do so, of entertaining hopes favorable to the succession of Martand Rao. Communicating his suspicions to the Maharaja, this lady was removed to Mahesar, as a precautionary measure.

The only remaining person with whom His Highness could now converse confidentially on the subject of an adoption was his son-in-law; and Raja Bhaο accordingly from that time took an active part in the matter. The following extract from a letter* from Sir Claude Wade, the Resident at Indore, to the Government of India, will show the progress of the negotiation.—“ His Highness Hari Rao Holkar continues in much the same state as when I last addressed you. On the 27th instant I directed my assistant, Mr. Harris, to visit him, to enquire after his health, and elicit from him if anything had been done regarding the measure of adopting a successor, which he had announced to Captain Trevelyan on his last visit. Mr. Harris states that he found him in a very exhausted condition, from which, however, he has since partially rallied. He was so weak as to be incapable of conversing with Mr. Harris, who could not indeed get any other answer from him than a slight motion of the head. When at length Mr. Harris adverted to the conversation that had taken place between His Highness and Captain Trevelyan, he put his hand to his chest, as if to

Letter
to Govt. of
India about
adoption of
an heir, 1841.

* From Lieut.-Col. Sir C. M. Wade, C. B., Resident at Indore, to T. H. Maddock, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, Fort William, dated July 1st, 1841, No. 686.

"intimate that speaking gave him great pain, and
 "motioned first towards Raja Bhao and then to-
 "wards Mr. Harris, implying that the former would
 "give him information on that subject; from whom,
 "however, nothing decisive as to the Maharaja's
 "intentions could be obtained; but he called on me
 "next morning accompanied by another of the
 "Maharaja's officers, stating that he had been sent
 "by His Highness to inform me that a delay of
 "a few days had occurred in coming to a decision
 "with respect to his successor, in consequence of his
 "wish to consult an old lady, a relation of the
 "Holkar family, of the name of Gopka Bai, who had
 "been residing for years past at Mahesar, and who is
 "celebrated for her knowledge of the genealogy of
 "the various branches of her tribe; and that she had
 "confirmed him in the eligibility of his choice of one
 "of the sons of Santaji, and that, if I had no objection,
 "he would select Khandi Rao, the eldest of the boys; Khandi Rao selected.
 "adding that he would be still further gratified if
 "I would be present at the adoption, which he was
 "anxious should take place as soon as possible, as it
 "would tend to settle the succession and ensure tran-
 "quillity. I observed that I could have no objection
 "to a measure which he deemed essential to the peace
 "and prosperity of the country; that my Government
 "was directly interested in their preservation in
 "Malwa, and was anxious only that the succession
 "to his State should be regulated in conformity with
 "the usages of the Holkar family; that I would
 "inform His Lordship in Council of the intention
 "of His Highness without delay; but that as my
 "presence at the ceremony would not carry with it

“that weight which he supposed until my Government had declared its own recognition of the adoption, I could not myself attend in the meantime.”

Adoption approved by Govt. of India.

The ceremony of adoption, July 2nd, 1841.

The selection met with general approval throughout the State ; and the ceremony of adoption was duly performed. The following account of it appeared in Mahrathi in the *Indore Akbar* of the July 2nd, 1841 :—

“The Maharaja sent Surat Singh Teundar to Gotma Bai for two boxes of jewels ; Nur Khan and Bala Naik proceeded with great haste to old Indore, and brought with them to the Presence Khandi Rao, his father Bapu Holkar,* and his uncle Santaji and his sons. After being bathed and invested with the jewels, His Highness Hari Rao Holkar took Khandi Rao in his lap, and putting some sugar in his mouth turned to the Ahilkars and Dhangars who were in attendance. He then remarked, ‘I have done this for your benefit ;’—on which all present offered their congratulations, and expressed their satisfaction at His Highness’s selection, which they prayed might prove a happy one. Khandi Rao was then led to the presence of Her Highness, Ghaina Bai, and seated in her lap, where congratulations were again offered ; he was then conducted to the kachehri (office) and seated on a saddle-cloth, which was spread out on the ground adjoining the throne, where the pandits and shastries presented him with cocoanuts. One hundred and twenty-one guns were then fired in honour of the occasion.”

The adoption sanctioned by Government.

The adoption† and the negotiations that brought

* A zamindar residing in the village of Jotsi Khera, near Indore.

† Translation of *kharita* from Hari Rao Holkar to the Governor-General, dated* August 9th, 1841.—After preliminary compliments : “Be

it about, received the sanction and approval of the Government of India.

The adopted heir was a boy of about eleven years Khandi Rao. of age, of a cheerful, and amiable disposition, by no means wanting in intelligence, and of manners so superior to what might be expected from his former station in life as to have attracted the attention of all who saw him on public occasions, when the indis-

“it known to my kind and gracious friend, that observing the hearts
 “of my subjects full of sorrow, and weighed down with grief, in con-
 “sequence of the severe illness under which I have been long laboring,
 “I deemed it advisable, for the good of my country, and the satisfaction
 “and consolation of my subjects (after fixing on a most auspicious
 “moment, *viz.*, July 3rd, 1841), to adopt as my successor Khandi Rao, one
 “of my own tribe, and thereby dispel all anxiety and solicitude from the
 “minds of my people; and as the greatest degree of friendship has
 “always existed between the British Government and my own, and as
 “the affairs of my government and the prosperous condition of my
 “territories are a subject of interest to your Lordship, I have addressed
 “this letter for your information; as regards other occurrences of this
 “government, you will be kept informed of them by the Resident, who
 “is a friend of both Governments. May the days of happiness and pros-
 “perity always correspond with your exalted wishes.”

From the Governor-General (Lord Auckland) to Hari Rao Holkar, August 30th, 1841:—“I grieve to learn that Your Highness has been suffering from serious indisposition; please God that the next accounts from Indore may bring me the gratifying intelligence of its amendment; but life and death are in the hands of God, and it is the duty of all wise men, even the strongest in health, to make provision for the future disposal of their affairs in the event of their demise. To Princes like Your Highness this duty is imperative, as thousands living under their rule are dependent for their future peace and prosperity to the proper succession to the reigning sovereign. I consider, therefore, that Your Highness has acted with prudence and foresight becoming your character in selecting from the Holkar tribe one who, in case of Your Highness’s demise without direct issue, shall succeed to the masnad. I have no doubt that the selection is a proper one, and it meets accordingly with my full approbation. The British Government feels an interest in the honour and welfare of the Holkar family; and it is my earnest hope that Your Highness may recover your health entirely, and long continue to fill with usefulness and distinction the high post among the States of India so long held by your family.”

position of the Maharaja required him to act the part of Chief. He could read and write his own language, and after his adoption a Mahratta tutor was appointed to superintend his studies.

Death of
Narayan Rao
Palsikar,
1841.

Narayan Rao Phalsikar, the newly-appointed Minister, died in October, 1841. His fidelity had made a deep impression on the mind of Hari Rao, who at once nominated his son Ram Rao Narayan to succeed him. This youth was without either experience or influence, and his duties were merely nominal. The entire guidance of public affairs now fell into the hands of Raja Bhao, who, though dissipated, intriguing, and unscrupulous, found it the most expedient course to act in accord with the views of the British Resident, and accordingly applied himself vigorously to measures of reform. Nor were his exertions unsuccessful. He brought the expenditure within the limits of the revenue, and after discharging the arrears due to the troops, lodged a surplus in the treasury. With free access to the chief at all hours, Raja Bhao might now easily have maintained his influence, had he not betrayed his designs in moments of intoxication and alienated the affection and confidence of his master.

The Maha-
raja assumes
the conduct
of affairs.

Hari Rao, who, at this time, was enjoying a brief immunity from the many disorders of his constitution, again attempted to take charge of the administration and to dispense with a minister. In reply to remonstrances he promised the Resident that he would give every attention to suggestions offered by the British Government, and that he would bestow the utmost care upon public business. But however sincere these protestations may have been, his mental

Raja Bhao
in power.

and bodily weakness prevented his giving effect to them. He had no strength to battle with the intrigues of the designing adventurers by whom he was surrounded. There was no one about him in whom he could any longer place the slightest confidence. There was no one with whom he could associate.

The entire absence of an aristocracy is one of the most remarkable characteristics of the Mahratta states of Central India.* A few Deckanni Brahmans, who have come in search of employment, and by acuteness, industry, and intrigue have obtained offices of importance, and a number of domestic servants, who have risen from the humblest situations, form the Court. Occasionally appointments thus obtained are handed down for two or three generations, and a claim to gentility is thus formed. Nothing, however, is so difficult for a European to understand and realize as the relations existing between the sovereign and the menial servants at these Courts. A personal servant† whose duties and emoluments are of the humblest description is often an intimate friend, who jokes, gossips, and consults with his master upon every subject. But Hari Rao Holkar was even debarred

Isolation of
the Maharaja.

* *Sir C. M. Wade, Resident at Indore, to T. H. Maddock, Esq., Secretary to Government, Fort William, 25th June 1841.* —“ Nothing has struck me more since I came here than the absence of that aristocracy which is to be found at almost every other native Court, and whose advice and assistance are so desirable to aid the counsels of their Prince in case of emergency. In remarking the singularity to the Maharaja, he said it was very true, and that he was a prey to the rapacity of subordinate officers.

† Such a one is usually in the pay of half a dozen of the principal officers of the Court, to whom he retails with as much fidelity as he pleases, the confidences that have passed between himself and his master; and whom he warns of His Highness's frame of mind and temper before he issues from the private apartments.

from the enjoyment that such intimacies may afford. He had been betrayed more than once by his domestics ; and he now, not unnaturally, viewed every one around him with melancholy suspicion. Under these circumstances he soon succumbed again to the debility of his mind and body. He kept to his private apartments, saw no one, lay in a gloomy lethargy from meal to meal ; and left the State to take care of itself. This turned loose upon Indore a host of ruffians for the most part issuing from the palace, who extorted money, annoyed, insulted, and oppressed the helpless inhabitants on every conceivable pretext. The Resident warned the Maharaja, urging the necessity for his adopting and adhering to an efficient form of government, and cautioning him against listening to the insidious advice of low and interested persons. Nothing came of these remonstrances, and the Resident was compelled to report the state of affairs to the Government of India and ask for instructions. But in the meantime the health of His Highness became seriously worse. He himself despaired of recovery, called his relations and attendants about him, and tried to make arrangements for the adjustment of his affairs in view of death. The Maji Sahiba (Kesaira Bai, widow of Jeswant Rao) and Gotaina Bai had already been brought back from Mahesar under the escort of the Resident's Assistant ; and it was generally hoped that the influence of the former would tend to quell the machinations of those who sought for some personal advantage in the disturbances likely to arise from a disputed succession.

Rival claims, Intrigues were again set afoot for the recall of,
September,
1843. Martand Rao ; and Khandi Rao, the adopted heir,

became seriously alarmed. He visited the Resident and expressed a doubt as to whether he should ever be permitted to succeed, adding that he felt sure his life would be in danger on the death of the Maharaja. The British Government had formally sanctioned the adoption of Khandi Rao ; indeed it had been made on the urgent representations of the Resident to provide for the future of the State ; and although no person had been indicated as a suitable successor,—the Chief and his ^v having the right of choice and adoption,—yet the proposals of the party favourable to the claims of Martand Rao had been negatived by a reference to the engagement into which that prince had entered on receiving the conditional pension of Rs. 500 a month, and the authorities at Puna* had been directed to maintain a close surveillance over his movements and those of his partisans. It was, therefore, for every reason, determined to uphold the succession of Khandi Rao ; and in order to dispel, once for all, the illusions of those who thought they could set aside the late adoption, the Governor-General (Lord Ellenborough) addressed the following letter to His Highness the Maharaja:—

“ I have heard with deep regret from my Resident at “ your Court that your Highness has lately been “ suffering from some indisposition. The lives of “ men are in the hands of the Almighty ; I trust He

Letter from
the G. G. re-
garding the
succession of
Khandi Rao,
October 7th,
1843.

* The Magistrate at Puna, in a communication addressed to the Government of Bombay, dated 4th December, 1843, stated that Martand Rao was a very intelligent and frank lad ; adding, “ and if any intrigue is in existence, I believe him to be ignorant of it : he expresses himself grateful to the British Government for its succour in his distress when he sought its protection, and declares that he has no wish or intention to act otherwise than according to the direction of Government.”

“ will be pleased to spare you to the prayers of your
“ people, and give you length of days and increased
“ honor.

“ It is reported to me that Your Highness is
“ anxious regarding the future welfare of your adopt-
“ ed son, Khandi Rao. It will be in your recollection
“ that when Your Highness, two years ago, com-
“ municated intelligence of the adoption to the Go-
“ vernor-General of India, full approbation of the
“ measure was expressed as indicative of Your
“ Highness's anxiety for the welfare of the people
“ over whom you ruled. The British Government
“ is ever mindful of its engagements ; and when
“ it has once recognized the rightful claimant, will
“ not cease to extend its countenance and protec-
“ tion to him so long as he remains faithful to his
“ engagements.

“ I am concerned to hear that Your Highness's
“ protracted indisposition has occasioned some de-
“ rangement in the affairs of your administration.
“ No doubt, when it pleases God to restore you to
“ health, all these evils will be remedied, and in the
“ meantime you should not delay to entrust the
“ administration to wise and competent ministers.

“ You will not fail to inform me quickly of the
“ state of your health, and to delight me with the
“ intelligence of your recovery.”

(Sd.) ELLENBOROUGH.

The last days
of Hari Rao.

This letter however was never delivered to His Highness, for the hand of death was already upon him. During the few days that still remained to him, some worthless favourites gained a complete ascen-

dency over the conduct of affairs. They closed all access to their master, placed their own spies over the Ma-Sâhiba and Gotama Bai, made away with the cash in the treasury and with His Highness's private hoard, though the troops had not been paid for five months, and affixed the seal of the State to grants of land and leases of districts. But the end was now approaching; the Maharaja became unconscious. No one had anything more to gain or lose by him. The doors were thrown open. The ladies of the family and the household servants crowded in to see the dying Chief. The Resident arrived, and a Council was held for the disposal of affairs in view of the end. This was on the 16th of October; and His Highness lingered on unconscious until the 23rd, when making a great effort to rouse himself he addressed a few touching words of farewell to that little circle of connections and servants gathered round his couch who had so often deceived, betrayed, and plundered him; and then solemnly committing to them the honour of his family and State, and the care of Khandi Rao, he relapsed into unconsciousness, and, in a few hours, peacefully passed away.

Nothing can be more melancholy than that closing scene. The tender leave-taking of those who never loved him, and the grave and dignified charge to those who neither respected his wishes nor obeyed his commands, formed surely a most sad termination to the career of him who had once been honoured as a gallant soldier, whose fate during a long imprisonment had been viewed with affectionate pity, whose ~~return~~ to liberty and accession to power had but ten short years ago been welcomed with universal accla-

Death of Hari
Rao Holkar.
October 24th,
1843.

mation, and who, perhaps, in the presence of great bodily suffering and mental darkness, meeting on all sides with turpitude, and treachery, had sometimes tried to uphold the honour of the great House he represented, and to discharge faithfully the sovereign trust reposed in him by God and his people.

Khandi Rao.

On receiving an intimation of the Chief's death and a request from the Ma-Sahiba to visit her, the

The Resident visits the Ma-Sahiba.

Resident repaired to the palace, and had an interview with that Princess and Khandi Rao before the body was removed to the funeral pile. Taking this opportunity of presenting the Governor-General's letter, he adverted generally to its contents, and recognizing Khandi Rao in the name of the British Government, he placed the hands of the young prince in those of the Ma-Sahiba and Gotama Bai, and requested that the affairs of the Government should be conducted in his name. But in consequence of the tumultuous scene of loud ceremonial lamentation, and the excited crowd of officers, soldiers, servants, and spectators that eddied round the group, he did not think it expedient to allude particularly to that part of his Lordship's communication which referred to the necessity of establishing an efficient form of Government.

As the occasion for these remarks, however, had now become more pressing, the Resident on the following day sent his Assistant, Mr. Eden, to the Ma-Sahiba with a kharita, of which the following is a translation :—“ After preliminary compliments, “ the Resident observes that since, by the will of “ God, the Maharaja has departed this life, she is

The Resident's kharita to the Ma-Sahiba.

“well aware how that two years before, when in possession of all his faculties, he had of his own free will and accord, and with the concurrence and knowledge of the British Government, adopted Khandi Rao Holkar as his son and successor;* reminds her that he had yesterday delivered to her a kharita from the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council in which his (Khandi Rao's) right to the succession was acknowledged, and his (the Governor-General's) determination to uphold and support him duly announced ; informs her that Khandi Rao must be considered as in the place of the late Maharaja, and requests her to announce the event publicly, as well as the Maharaja's demise, to all the amals, karkuns, and other public functionaries, giving them to understand that he is the acknowledged successor, and that nobody else will be recognized by the British Government, and that all papers shall be made out in the name, and sealed, with his (Khandi Rao's) seal ; recommends that a proclamation should be issued to the above effect tending to give confidence, to the ryots ; that the appointment of competent persons for the conduct of affairs of State, as recommended in the kharita of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General, should be carried into effect with as little delay as possible, on which subject Lieutenant Eden would wait on and consult her ; expresses a hope that she will in every respect look upon and treat Khandi Rao as the heir to the throne, and acknowledged as such by the British Government.”

* From papers relating to adoption printed by order of the House of Commons in 1850.

The Ma-Sahiba desires to postpone the succession.

The Ma-Sahiba and Gotama Bai were of opinion that the carrying out of these measures should be postponed until the customary period of mourning was over. The Resident, however, could not admit this plea ; and letters were immediately issued announcing the succession of Khandi Rao.

To Bala Naik the Resident entrusted the charge of the young Maharaja and the household. A proclamation was issued from the Residency office declaring Khandi Rao the successor recognized by the British Government ; and the 13th of November was fixed upon for his installation. This ceremony was duly carried out on that day in presence of the Resident, his Assistants, and a large party of European officers, and a khillat of investiture was presented to His Highness on the part of the British Government.

Installation
of Khandi
Rao, Nov.
13th, 1843.

During the short period that elapsed between the installation and the death of Maharaja Khandi Rao Holkar, the Resident in conjunction with the Ma-Sahiba, and a Council of Regency carried on the administration. Raja Bhao whose intrigues had led to his removal from Indore, at the repeated and earnest solicitation of the Resident, Sir Claude Wade, was now permitted to return under the most solemn promises, and assurances of amending his ways ; and was added to the Regency together with Dewan Ram Rao Phalsikar, and Gopal Rao Baba, Khasgi Dewan. For a time things seemed to go on smoothly ; but Raja Bhao's pernicious influence was at length found to be exerted with the worst effects upon the youthful Prince. The latter was weak in body and mind, apathetic, indolent, and quite ready to be led astray by Raja Bhao or any one else.

There was no reasonable prospect of his turning out a capable ruler; and when after a short illness he died at the early age of fifteen, it could hardly be felt that the State of Indore had sustained any serious loss.*

Death of
Khandi Rao.
February
17th, 1844.

The Selection of a new Chief.

Khandi Rao was unmarried,† and there was now no person with any legal claim whatever to succeed; and no one possessed of a legitimate title to adopt a successor. Under these circumstances, although there appeared to be no immediate difficulty in carrying on the Government with the existing Regency, yet it was considered necessary that the British Government should intervene to establish an efficient administration in the Holkar dominions, as it rested with it alone to nominate a successor, and even to decide on the expediency, or otherwise, of maintaining the separate existence of the State. With regard to this alternative view, Sir Claude Wade, the Resident at

The expediency of maintaining the autonomy of Indore.

* In the following letter from Sir Claude Wade, Resident at Indore, to F. Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, dated 17th February, 1844, we must attribute the estimate of Khandi Rao's character to the amenities of official correspondence :

"I proceeded shortly afterwards to the palace, where I found the Ma-Sahiba and the relations of the Maharaja weeping over his corpse : "she has throughout his illness evinced an interest in his fate, and an "anxious desire to console him by her constant attendance, which shows "that she sympathises in the sentiments of every one about the Court and "the people at large, that a youth who appeared so well qualified to fulfil "their hopes of good government at a future period should have thus "suddenly terminated his promising career."

† From the Government of India, in the Foreign Department, to the Secret Committee of the Hon'ble Court of Directors, No. 88, December 23rd, 1844.

Indore, wrote as follows :*—“ The measure of assuming the Government of the country ourselves would, in my humble opinion, be unpopular and attended with considerable risk to the existence of tranquillity. “ There is nothing which has tended more to confirm the attachment of the retainers of the State, as well as its subjects, to the authority of our Government during the late events which have happened here, and the disturbances at Gwalior, than the impression arising from the disinterested conduct we have manifested in the desire to preserve the integrity of the chiefship in the family to which it has hitherto belonged ; and although the feelings of the people may not partake of that decidedly national character by which we are accustomed to view them in other countries, yet where there is no actual oppression or misrule urging them on to wish for a change of Government, they have a respect for existing institutions, and a pride in their continuance in the family which they have long been in the habit of acknowledging as their head, that would induce them to view any such design on the part of our Government with a strong aversion.”

Sir C. Wade's views. Sir Claude Wade thought that the course most likely to give general satisfaction was for the British Government to permit the Ma-Sahiba to choose an heir other than Martand Rao ; but, in the event of this being deemed inexpedient, he recommended the adoption, as the act of the Government of India, of Muktaji, son of Santaji and cousin of the late Chief.

* To the Secretary to the Government of India, dated 17th February, 1844.

Muktaji was one of the three boys brought before Hari Rao for selection, and the choice then seemed to lie between him and Khandi Rao.

At this time a change occurred at the Residency. Mr. Hamilton succeeds Sir Claude Wade, 4th April, 1844. Mr. (afterwards Sir Robert) Hamilton succeeded Sir Claude Wade, who retired from the Service. *The Government of India, referring to the suggestions offered by the latter, instructed the new Resident to institute enquiries regarding the health and disposition of Muktaji and the character of his father Santaji, and also as to whether there were any other eligible members of the family.

The following is an extract from the reply of Mr. Hamilton :

“ I have distinctly stated to all parties that the late Raja having no heir, and no one having a legal right to adopt, the nomination of a person to occupy the gaddi rests solely with the Governor-General. To this all assent ; and while the anxiety to see the gaddi occupied is great, the intention of the Governor-General not to allow the family and name of Holkar to become extinct is received by all classes with gratitude.

“ In looking for a successor attention would naturally be attracted to the two cousins of the late Raja, the sons of Santaji.

“ I have never seen either of the two boys at any time when I have visited the Durbar. I have heard that their parents had no wish that either should be exposed to the risk which they consider would attend a succession to the gaddi, after the unhappy

* From the Secretary to the Government of India, to the Resident, Indore, April 7th, 1844.

“ and early demise of Khandi Rao. The real fact is, “ their father is a person of no importance ; had never “ the *entrée* to the Durbar, and is not an individual “ who enjoys any consideration. The Ma-Sahiba does “ not consider these boys as entitled to be elevated to “ the gaddi.

“ The Ma-Sahiba sent to request I would come to “ the Durbar. The day before yesterday I went. “ After the Durbar was cleared, and only the Tae “ Sahiba* remained, the Maji † said she had reflected “ on all I had said to her ; that she placed unbounded “ confidence in the justice, the benevolence, and the “ good feeling of the British Government ; that in “ whatever the Governor-General would decide, she “ would sincerely acquiesce, being convinced it would “ be for the good of the State and for the perpetuating “ of the Holkar name ; that according to the rights “ of Hindu law, the Tae Sahiba, as widow of Malhar

Eligibility of Rao, had adopted Martand Rao, against whose Martand Rao re-opened by the Ma-Sahiba. “ after having been seated on the gaddi, was ejected

“ by Hari Holkar ; that he was then a child, was still “ a minor, and was not accountable for the actions of “ others ; that since his ejection he had lived peace- “ ably, and had not, nor had his family, participated, “ though often tempted, in any intrigues against the “ State ; that on the death of Hari Rao Holkar she had “ recognized the adoption of Khandi Rao, and exerted “ herself to secure him the gaddi ; that it had pleased “ God to cut him off ; that the gaddi was vacant ; “ that the Governor-General had treated her with the

* Gotama Bai.

† Kesaira Bai, the Ma-Sahiba.

“greatest consideration in entrusting her with the “Government ; and that she was only anxious to see “the throne filled by one of the family, and that “she would not, in the face of her religion and her “pledge, disguise her desire to see Martand Rao “placed by the Governor-General on the gaddi ; that “she was convinced such a step would give universal “satisfaction, and be grateful to the people ; but that “if His Lordship would not approve of Martand Rao, “it was his fate, and she must bow to the decree ; in “this event, that his youngest brother was the next “most eligible ; and if there was an objection to Mar- “tand Rao and his brother, that the younger of the “two sons of Bhaos Holkar, now at Indore, was the Eligibility of
the son of
Bhaos Holkar.

In reply the Government of India addressed the following observations* to the Resident.

“Were the question of Martand Rao’s succession Eligibility of
Martand Rao
disposed of. “altogether new, and his eligibility were now to be “considered together with that of the other boys of “the Holkar family under precisely similar circum- “stances, the Governor-General might have been “disposed to meet the expressed wishes of the Ma- “Sahiba, by selecting Martand Rao for the gaddi ; “but Martand Rao having been once already on the “gaddi, by reason of legal, or pretended adoption, “his restoration now would have, to a certain degree, “the appearance of a succession by legitimate right ; “whereas, inasmuch as he has really no legal claim,

* Extract from the letter, No. 1218, dated June 4th, 1844, from F Currie, Esq., Secretary to the Government of India, to R. N. C. Hamilton, Esq., Resident at Indore.

“and the gaddi is really vacant, and no one of
 “the Holkar family now possesses the right of adopt-
 “ing a successor thereto, it seems desirable that
 “the selection of a successor should be the sole act
 “of the British Government as the paramount pro-
 “tecting State.

“It is not obvious why the youngest son rather
 “than the eldest son of Bhaο Holkar should be
 “deemed by the Ma-Sahiba to be the more eligible
 “person after Martand Rao and his brother ; perhaps
 “Her Highness may see some convenience to herself
 “in a more protracted minority. It is not a matter
 “upon which, without grave reasons, the Governor-
 “General in Council would be disposed to thwart the
 “Ma-Sahiba’s wishes at the time when he overrules
 “Her Highness’s desire for the succession of Martand
 “Rao ; and if no such reasons should, upon enquiry,
 “appear to you to exist, you are authorised to inform
 “Her Highness that the Governor-General in Council,
 “having taken into consideration all past occurrences
 “and the present position of the Holkar State, has
 “formed the conclusion that it is most for the benefit
 “of the State that the younger son of Bhaο Holkar
 “should succeed to the gaddi. It is to be regretted
 “that we should have no information as to the cha-
 “racter, or circumstances of Bhaο Holkar, or as to the
 “age, or health, or disposition of the two boys. If
 “your enquiries upon these heads should lead you to
 “entertain doubts as to the expediency of selecting
 “either of the boys for the gaddi, you will not make
 “any decided communication to the Ma-Sahiba in
 “favour of either of them without further instruc-
 “tions.”

The British
Government
assumes
the right of
selecting a
successor.

An enquiry
to be insti-
tuted.

The Resident communicated the purport of this letter* immediately on its receipt to the Ma-Sahiba, who acquiesced in the decision of the Governor-General. With reference to the selection of the younger boy, Mr. Hamilton said that "he appeared to have been selected with no view to a longer minority,† but because he was the more comely and healthy child, and his horoscope the more fortunate." Then, without instituting any enquiries, the Resident at once proceeded to announce in durbar the selection of the younger son of Bhao Holkar. "The durbar,"‡ he reported to Government, "was most crowded; the different vakils at Indore were present, and the greatest interest appeared to be excited. Bhao Holkar and his two sons were introduced. The father is an elderly man; the elder son§ is about thirteen years of age slight, dark and intelligent-looking; the younger, Malhar Rao, about ten, a fine good, clear countenance.

"I then explained to all present the intention of the British Government, its desire to perpetuate the Holkar State by the selection of a successor to the gaddi from amongst those eligible to such distinction; that the Ma-Sahiba had pointed out the younger

* From Resident, Indore, to Secretary to Government of India, No. 892, dated 24th June, 1844.

† In a narrative of events relating to the Holkar State from 1837 to 1852, bearing the signature of Sir Robert Hamilton, the following passage occurs: "The policy being not to allow by any acts the recognition of a possible right to succeed, passing over the elder brother, seemed the strongest evidence that no right to occupy the gaddi existed in the family from whom the future chief was selected."

‡ Letter of June 24th, 1844, from Resident, Indore, to Government of India.

§ Now Rao Sir Kasi Rao Holkar, Dada Sahib, K. C. S. I. *

Why the younger son of Bhao Holkar was selected.

No enquiry made.

The Durbar is informed of the selection.

“ son of Bhao Holkar as a fit successor ; that the Governor-General having a great respect for the Ma- Sahiba, had been pleased to authorise me to declare that the British Government has determined to place the younger son of Bhao Holkar on the gaddi, and that he would be installed in due form.

“ Only eight days remaining in this year within which, if the installation did not take place, an interval of six months must elapse. The Ma-Sahiba and the whole Court were anxious that the installa-

Day fixed for installation. “ tion should be fixed for Thursday, the 27th instant, which had been ascertained to be a lucky day for so great a ceremony ; to this I assented, and on the 27th I proposed to place the boy on the gaddi.

“ I have invited the Officer Commanding the Mhow Field Force, with his staff, to be present, and have been guided by the arrangement made in November last in the ceremonies and preparations for this occasion.’

Tukaji Rao II.

Tukaji Rao is installed as Maharnja, June 27th, 1844.

The Resident accordingly carried out the ceremony of installation, without receiving any further instructions from the Government of India. At his suggestion young Malhar Rao was designated Jeswant Rao, Sut Tukaji Holkar, and the same ceremonial was observed as on the accession of Khandi Rao.

The displeasure of Government.

These proceedings met with the disapproval of Government. The Governor-General* held that the investiture of the young Chief, instead of bearing the

* Despatch from Government of India, Foreign Department (Secret)
No 88, dated 23rd December, 1844.

appearance of a free act of grace on the part of the British Government, had assumed more the form of a succession by legitimate right. It had been the intention of Government to mark distinctly on this occasion the difference of position between the nominee of the Paramount Power and the chieftain succeeding by hereditary right, by delivering to the Maharaja a sanad nominating him to the gaddi, and fixing the amount of nazar he should present to the British Government on the occasion. By the precipitate action of the Resident, His Excellency felt that the opportunity of marking an important line of policy had been in a great measure lost to the Government; and that officer was accordingly censured for acting without due authority and departing from his instructions.

In the correspondence that ensued, however, Mr. Hamilton declared it to have been his constant aim throughout the transaction that the boy placed on the gaddi should be known to all as having been selected by the Governor-General, and he confidently asserted that beyond all doubt such was the general impression which his proceedings had created.* In corroboration of this view, he referred to kharitas from the young Chief and the Ma-Sahiba addressed to the Governor-General, which were forwarded with his despatch, and in both† of which it was distinctly stated that His

Mr. Hamilton
defends his
conduct.

* In the Gwalior *Akhbar*, the following notice of these events was published.—“It is heard that the British Government, through considerations which betoken greatness, have placed a boy on the throne of Holkar.”

† Kharita from His Highness Tukaji Holkar, to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India, dated 5th July, 1844:

After preliminary compliments: “A former communication from the

Highness had been placed on the throne through the favour and consideration of the British Government.

It was necessary, he said, to hurry on the installation, as if not performed within eight days, no auspicious

Resident will have apprised you of the death of His Highness Khandi Rao Holkar, which occurred on the 17th February last, to the great grief of myself, as well as all the other subjects of the State. All the customary sacrifices and offerings were made out of respect to his memory. At the conclusion of the days of mourning, by your great kindness and consideration, I was duly installed as successor to the vacant gaddi, at an auspicious time and moment fixed on by the astrologers, in the presence of the Resident, the General Commanding at Mhow, and a great many gentlemen who had come to witness the ceremony. The khillat conferred on me by the British Government was to me as a tower of strength and confidence; it will be the chief object of my Government to afford protection to and in every way conciliate my subjects. On the strength of the intimate friendship which has existed for so long a period between this State and the British Government, I have written this letter to you, feeling convinced that you will participate in the joy experienced by all on this happy occasion, and I hope you will look upon me as one of your friends and well-wishers, and gladden me by accounts of your health and happiness."

Kharita from the Ma-Sahiba to the Right Hon'ble the Governor-General of India, dated 5th July, 1844.

After preliminary compliments: "Expressed the deep grief she had experienced at the death of the late Maharaja Khandi Rao Holkar, which melancholy event occurred on the 17th of February last, and that every respect had been shown by her to his memory in the due performance of the usual rites and sacrifices prescribed for such occasions; that the days of mourning had been succeeded by those of joy, on hearing that a successor to the vacant gaddi had been selected by His Excellency in the person of Malharji Holkar, the younger son of Bhao Holkar, who had accordingly been duly installed on the 27th of June, 1844, under the style and title of Jeswant Rao Sut Tukaji Holkar Bahadur, at the hour and minute pointed out by the astrologers as one of happy and auspicious omen. The installation took place under His Excellency's favor, by the Resident, in the presence of the General Officer Commanding at Mhow, and a number of other gentlemen. Thus was the Holkar dynasty again established on its former footing to the great delight and satisfaction of all the subjects of the State, in which His Excellency as a friend to this Government would, she was sure, participate, and the regret felt for the death of the late Maharaja would be merged in pleasure at the accession of the present one. She hoped that His Excellency would occasionally gladden her with tidings of his welfare and happiness."

cious moment recurring, it would have had to be postponed for six months.

Under these circumstances the Resident hoped that the opportunity of marking the proposed line of policy might not yet be lost, and he recommended that a letter should be addressed by the Governor-General to the Maharaja in reply to the kharita of His Highness, conveying the Governor-General's formal sanction to and confirmation of his succession to the Chiefship. Such a letter, he pointed out, would be received as the formal sanad of appointment, and on its being delivered to the Maharaja, His Highness would present a nazar of 101 gold mohurs as a mark of dependency. The Government of India complied with this suggestion, and the Governor-General (Sir H. Hardinge) addressed the following letter to the young Chief.—After compliments : “ Your Highness’s letter dated 5th of July last has been duly received ; in that letter allusion is made to the “ death of His late Highness Khandi Rao, which “ had been reported to me by the Resident at Indore, “ and it is stated that the ceremonies customary on “ the occasion had been duly performed. Your Highness further remarks, that at the conclusion of the “ period of mourning you had been, by the great “ kindness of the British Government, installed as “ successor to the vacant gaddi, and Your Highness “ proceeds to state, that it will be your aim and object “ so to conduct the duties of the office to which you “ have been called as to promote the welfare and “ happiness of the people of the Holkar State. The “ intelligence of the early death of the late Maharaja “ was a cause of much grief to me ; by that event the

The Governor-General's letter to the new Chief, November 9th, 1844.

“gaddi of the Holkar State became vacant, there being
 “no one of the Holkar family remaining entitled to
 “succeed to the principality or to adopt an heir to the
 “gaddi. It became therefore necessary for the Go-
 “vernор-General to make an arrangement for the
 “administration of the government of the Holkar
 “principality.

“Having an earnest desire to promote the interests
 “of the Chiefs and people of the State, and to pre-
 “serve the honour and prosperity of the principality,
 “the British Government determined on this occasion
 “to make such an arrangement as would conduce
 “to the accomplishment of these ends, and would
 “at the same time, it was believed, be agreeable to the
 “feelings of the remaining members of the family of
 “the late Hari Rao, and of the chiefs and nobles of
 “the principality.

“Actuated by these motives, I was induced to direct
 “the British Resident at Indore to nominate Your
 “Highness to the occupation of the vacant gaddi.

“I have every confidence that Your Highness will,
 “to the utmost of your endeavour, administer the
 “duties of the Government to which you have been
 “thus called, in a manner befitting your high station,
 “and with a becoming impression of the importance
 “of the interests which will, on your coming of age,
 “be entrusted to your care.

“It is the intention of the British Government in
 “thus bestowing on Your Highness the principality
 “of the Holkar State, that the Chiefship should des-
 “cend to the heirs male of Your Highness’s body,
 “lawfully begotten, in due succession from generation
 “to generation.

“ Until the period of Your Highness’s coming of age, the affairs of the Government will be administered in your behalf, as at present, by a competent Regency, acting under the general superintendence and, in all matters of importance, the instructions of the British Resident, who will make arrangements for the education of Your Highness, during your minority, in a manner suitable to Your Highness’s future high destinies.

“ All existing engagements with other Chiefs and States made by the Chiefs of the house of Holkar, and in force at the time of the death of the late Maharaja, will continue binding on Your Highness and on Your Highness’s Government.”

(Sd.) H. HARDINGE.

This kharita arrived when the Resident was on tour in the Bhopal State, and was not delivered till the 1st of January, 1845. On receiving it the Maharaja ordered a salute of 42 guns to be fired, and two bags, each containing eight hundred and eight rupees, were presented as a nazar to the Governor-General.

In reply His Highness addressed the Governor-General in the following terms:—

“ Your kind letter of November 9th last (contents repeated) was delivered to me by my friend, the Resident, on the 1st instant, at the happiest time, and its receipt has conferred innumerable obligations on me.

Reply of the
Maharaja to
the kharita,
Jany., 1845.

“ You have been pleased to state that there remaining no rightful heir entitled to occupy the vacant gaddi, that it was your wish to make arrangements

“ for the affairs of this principality in the best manner. “ calculated to promote the welfare of its Chief and “ subjects, and to preserve its honor and respectability agreeably to the feelings of the late Maharaja “ Hari Rao Holkar’s relations and all the other Chiefs “ of the State.

“ The firmness of the friendly relations with the “ late occupants of this gaddi, the consideration of “ the welfare of the people in general and for its “ chiefs and relations in particular, and the display of “ very great kindness, so becoming the character of “ persons possessed of power and fortune, conveyed “ in your kind letter, has called for the gratitude of all “ classes, and given satisfaction to men of every rank “ and age. I will always use my utmost exertions in “ promoting the happiness of the people (the precious “ charge given to rulers by God) according to every “ one’s desert.* of the family and relations of Hari Rao Maharaja and of others whose “ right of relationship and good services are so well “ impressed upon your mind as well as mine, and who, “ having been noticed by you, are thereby made the “ more deserving of consideration.

“ You have been so kind as to advise that I should, “ in proportion to the benefits which will result to “ me on the charge of this Chiefship being made over “ to me on my attaining my majority, conduct the “ affairs of this principality, bestowed upon me by “ the British Government, in a manner worthy of my “ high position. This will be to me as a law for the “ future conduct of my affairs, and as a sure step to

* *Sic* in official translation.

“ my exaltation, and as a fresh indication of your “ extreme beneficence. I shall always consider this “ good and wholesome advice as a rule to regulate my “ proceedings and to perfect my principles ; and it is “ hoped by the aid of the Almighty that you will al- “ ways perceive on my part so much exertion in “ adopting the best line of conduct so fraught with “ good results as to give you entire satisfaction and “ ensure for me thankfulness from every one.

“ You have alluded to the continuance of this great “ Chiefship to my male issue of pure blood, lawfully “ begotten from generation to generation. This has “ conferred great obligation on me, and impressed “ your good name on every heart and tongue. Those “ exalted by God have always acquired a good name “ in the world, but the British Government has gone “ foremost of all of them in this respect, and I have “ no words adequately to describe my sense of grati- “ tude.

“ The plan directed by you for the conduct of State “ affairs during my minority through the medium “ of a Regency under the directions of the Resident is “ just in accordance with the liberal practice of the “ British Government to secure the life, property, and “ honour as well of the people as of the minor Chiefs ; “ and I shall not deviate a hair’s breadth from the advice “ which may be given to me by the Resident for my “ own good. The tried administrative qualities and “ the mature judgment of that officer are already “ well impressed upon every mind, and the function- “ aries of the State acting as the Regency under him “ will ever strive to please him by their best services ; “ on this account I pray you to rest satisfied.

“ The allusion made in your letter, that (*sic*) the Resident will make provision for my education has been very satisfactory.

“ You have also adverted to the Treaties, and relations of this principality with other powers, which are to remain binding just as they were at the time of Maharaja Hari Rao’s death, and this has given great consolation. In fact, whenever the British Government has undertaken to promote the welfare of its friends, nothing more is wanting to complete their satisfaction. It is plain that by your sole act I have been sought out to occupy the gaddi of this Chiefship, and now my debt of gratitude to you and the British Government has been so much increased, that I cannot repay it, but by constantly keeping before me and obeying the instructions and advice conveyed in your letter, now acknowledged, and which I cannot consider but as an expression of the greatest kindness on your part, and as the sanad* that ensures the stability of this State.”

The Regency continued in office.

The persons who had formed the Regency during the minority of the late chief were continued in office, and conducted the administration under the advice and control of the Resident. Each department, however, now underwent a searching scrutiny; reforms were put in train; and some change for the better soon became evident. A dispensary was opened under the patronage of the Ma-Sahiba; a Civil Court

* On receiving this kharita for delivery, Mr. Hamilton had asked the Government (21st November, 1844) to send a sanad or treaty, that he might deliver along with it; in reply (7th October, 1844) he was told that “the Governor-General’s kharita was to be considered as the Raja’s sanad, and that the nuzzar was to be presented on its delivery.”

was established under the superintendence of Hardial Singh, a clever Munshi who had served in our own provinces ; and the services of a student of the Delhi College, named Umeid Singh, were entertained for the instruction of the young Chief, and the management of the city school. A class of companions for His Highness was formed. Rai Ramchandra Rao, afterwards minister, acted as monitor, and Bhao Bakshi Khuman Singh and Bhingir Bawa were members of it.

Throughout the State perfect tranquillity now reigned. The villagers once more worked in their fields confident of reaping their harvests. Heavy carts laden with country produce once more laboured along the rough tracks that led to the city. The bannia displayed his huge sacks of grain in front of his booth ; the goldsmith brought out the treasures of his art ; the streets were filled with peaceful crowds of buyers and sellers ; women balancing great brass vessels on their heads went to the wells for water, or to the stream that flows through the city, to wash their clothes, without fear of molestation ; while the children sauntered along through the dust to the temple schools to shout their multiplication tables in chorus, and to read the story of the damsels whose lips were a *bandhujiba* flower. The general order that prevailed awed into what was, at any rate, the semblance of good behaviour the ruffians that prowled about the guard-houses and about the precincts of the palace. The country, in a word, began to recover from the paralysis consequent on many months of change, alarm, and doubt, during which intrigues and rumours of intrigues had unsettled the

Order
restored.

minds of all, and raised, the hopes and prospects of the dangerous classes who flourish upon anarchy.

Financial prosperity, 1845.

In October, 1845, after the termination of the Dassahra festival, the Resident reported to the Supreme Government that the affairs of the State were being conducted with great regularity, and with a due regard to economy. Notwithstanding the heavy expenses incurred on account of the funeral rites of two Chiefs, and on account of two installations, there was a balance of Rs. 5,00,000 in the treasury, with an annual expenditure well within the income of the State, amounting to Rs. 22,12,260. The whole of the military and civil establishments had been paid up to date, no outstanding claims existed. The attention paid by the young Maharaja to his studies was creditable, and the motherly watchfulness of the Ma-Sahiba led to a hope that he might escape some of the temptations to which princes are so much exposed. Although the past season had been one of scarcity and high prices following a prolonged drought, still no instance of plundering, nor even a serious robbery, had occurred within the limits of the Holkar State. A noticeable diminution too had taken place in the number of those offences which so frequently have their origin in dhakan or witchcraft. This improvement was attributed to the different course which the Durbar had now adopted, at the suggestion of the Resident, for disposing of such cases, *viz.*, by holding the "witch-finder"** responsible for the consequences of his accu-

Witchcraft.

* There used to be, if there is not now, a class of men who profess to have the power of detecting "the evil eye," and other satanic influences. They are, of course, in high request as a means of ridding those

sation. Sati, infanticide, and slavery had been prohibited in the time of Hari Rao, and this prohibition was now stringently enforced.

About this time, a trifling matter in its commencement, led to serious and fatal consequences, which may be briefly noticed as illustrating the character and temper of the people. On the 21st of October, 1845, Khub Singh and Umrao Singh, two brothers, serving in the Police Corps, were parties in a civil suit, and being dissatisfied with the decision, came before Raja Bhao, the chief member of the Regency, while he was presiding in the public Court within the square of the palace. As they were clamorously recapitulating the points of their case and inveighing against the decree, they pressed forward, and Phansia, becoming alarmed, got up and desired a servant to take them to the proper court of appeal. In rising Khub Singh's sheathed sword touched Phansia's clothes, who put out his hand to seize it. Raja Bhao's brother crying out that they were attacked, fled, and a general panic ensued; Khub Singh in hastily withdrawing his sword, cut through the scabbard and left it in Raja Bhao's hands, which were slightly wounded. The two litigants were at once cut down, and their attendants attempting a defence added to the confusion. Every one drew; talwars flashed wildly about; wounds were inflicted; and no one knowing what had really happened, the tumult increased and spread. It is impossible to

Affray in the
palace, Octo-
ber, 1845.

who can afford to employ them of obnoxious old women and others. A witch-finder, notorious throughout the Dhar State, was the first to be called to account for a horrible outrage that was committed by his accusation. *Vide* Malcolm's Central India, II. 212—219. •

say what mischief might have been done, and what party feelings might have been inflamed, had not the Resident, on being apprised of the affray, promptly hastened to the palace, and restored order.

Marriage of
the Maharaja,
January,
1846.

In September, 1845, the Ma-Sahiba proposed an alliance between His Highness the Maharaja and the daughter of Govind Rao Gargoni. The arrangement being sanctioned by the Government of India, the marriage was duly solemnised on the 31st of January, 1846. The Rajas of Dhar and Dewas, with all the neighbouring chiefs, were invited to be present at the festivities ; and the ceremony was performed with much pomp, and amid general rejoicings. The Governor-General was pleased to mark the occasion by presenting the young Chief with an honorary dress—a measure that caused great satisfaction throughout the principality. The investiture with this dress was held after the Dasahra festival, when His Highness visited the Resident, and was received with every circumstance that could render the presentation gratifying to the people of Indore.

Death of
Harika Bai,
May 22nd,
1846.

Harika Bai,* widow of Hari Rao Holkar, and mother of Sakha Bai, Raja Bhaos Phansia's wife, died on the 22nd of May, 1846.

A mutiny.

This year, when the Resident was away on tour, a mutiny broke out among the Golandaz, who demanded an increase of pay. They placed their officers under restraint, and matters assumed a threatening aspect. But the Ma-Sahiba promptly sent the Bakshi

* This lady who was not married until after the birth of her daughter, was never regarded with that respect to which the rank of her husband would have otherwise entitled her. Vide *Narrative of Events* by Sir R. Hamilton, p. 14.

accompanied by some high officers of State to the lines, where order was soon restored and the ringleaders seized. At the express desire of the Durbar, the Resident, on his return, instituted an enquiry into the disturbance, sitting with the members of the Regency in public durbar. The investigation was conducted with the regular formality of a criminal trial, and the principal offenders were sentenced to expulsion from the State.

In June, 1848, the Rukma Bai Sahiba, consort of ^{Death of} His Highness the Maharaja, died of fever. Though ^{Rukma} Bai Sahiba, still only a child, the melancholy event caused general ^{June, 1848.} regret.

The Ma-Sahiba now desired that arrangements ^{A second} should be made for a second marriage, and proposed ^{marriage pro-} that she, with the Chief, should proceed to the Deccan, on a tour, or pilgrimage, where a bride might be selected from amongst their own kindred, and a marriage celebrated at a moderate expense. The sanction of the Government of India was obtained for this plan; but circumstances prevented its being carried out.

The growing intelligence of the young Maharaja, ^{The young} his aptitude for business, and his desire to become ^{Chief's taste} and aptitude ^{for public} business. fully acquainted with public affairs, were now noticed with satisfaction by all but the ambitious and intriguing Raja Bhao Phansia, who complained to the Resident that the presence of His Highness in Court was derogatory to his (Raja Bhao's) dignity, and that the enquiries made by His Highness when there were embarrassing and irksome. The Resident replied that Raja Bhao should feel it his duty to instruct his Chief and familiarise him with the details of the

administration, and that it was creditable to His Highness, whose demeanour in the court was always correct, and who never interfered, to evince this desire to fit himself for his future duties and responsibilities. But Raja Bhao was not open to such reasoning. He found it impossible for himself or his subordinates to play fast and loose with public funds under the quick glances and searching questions of his youthful master ; and in order to paralyse the government, which he believed could not be carried on without him, he quitted Indore, carrying away the ministerial seal, and Kalamdan, and retired to his estate at Turana.

Raja Bhao's petition to the Governor-General.

His absence in no way embarrassed the administration. Ram Rao Phalsikar, the hereditary Dewan, was placed in charge of affairs, and was found quite competent to conduct them, a circumstance that aggravated the discontent of Raja Bhao, who now sent to Calcutta a petition addressed to the Governor-General complaining of the conduct of the Resident, and stating that it was the treatment he had received at the hands of that officer which compelled him to leave Indore. The Governor-General marked his displeasure at Raja Bhao's contumacious behaviour by removing him from the Regency, and passing the following order on his petition :—

Order on
Raja Bhao's
petition,
No. 1864,
dated 1st
October, 1849.

“ Ordered that the petitioner be informed that the Governor-General has enquired into the conduct of Mr. Hamilton in the matters noticed by the petitioner, and that His Lordship is satisfied that Mr. Hamilton has endeavoured conscientiously to discharge his duties as Resident, and has been guilty of no act which should deprive him of the confidence which the Government of India repose in him as an upright and

zealous officer. On the other hand, the petitioner has preferred charges against Mr. Hamilton which are malicious and groundless. The petitioner is hereby informed that the Governor-General considers it inexpedient that he should continue any longer as a member of the Regency at Indore, he himself being dissatisfied with his position, and the Resident having strong reasons for placing no confidence in him.”*

The course of education marked out for the Maha-<sup>The young
Chief's</sup> raja was persevered in without intermission, and every ^{education.} encouragement was given to stimulate him to exertion. His natural aptitude for business, his quickness at accounts, and the retentiveness of his memory facilitated the task of instruction, and soon enabled the Regency to entrust important duties to his care. His signature was required for every draft on the treasury, and thus an efficient check was put upon the indiscriminate and reckless outlay of subordinate officers. These gratifying circumstances were duly reported by the Resident, and the Governor-General was pleased to address letters to the Chief himself and to the Ma-Sahiba expressing his satisfaction.

In 1849, the Ma-Sahiba again proposed certain plans ^{Two} for the marriage of His Highness ; and after a time, in ^{marriages} _{solemnized,} consultation with the Resident, determined that two ^{1849.}

* Raja Bhao finding all intrigues to regain power fail, followed the Resident when on tour, and coming up with his camp at Mehidpur, entered the public durbar, and before the assembled Thakurs and Vakils, begged for mercy and forgiveness. He was told that the Resident had no further concern with his affairs, and that he must address his supplication to the Maharaja. He never did so, however, and never recovered his influence, sinking into a dishonoured grave, a victim to debauchery, on the 17th of July, 1853.

alliances she had arranged, one with the daughter of Siva Ram Gund and the other with the daughter of Bhikaji Phansia, should be solemnised about the same time, with a view to curtailing the expense. The sanction of Government having been obtained, the marriages were solemnised, and a khillat was presented to His Highness by the Governor-General.

Death of
Martand Rao,
June 2nd,
1849.

Martand Rao Holkar, who since his deposition had resided at Puna, died this year without issue. His widow, a member of the Holkar family, returned to Indore.

Death of the
Ma-Sahiba,
September,
1849.

In the following September, Kesaira Bai, the venerable Ma-Sahiba, widow of Jeswant Rao Holkar, departed this life amidst universal regret. She was greatly respected by all classes ; the young Prince was much attached to her, and the British authorities had always found her influence, to the best of her discretion, exerted for the good of the State.

The Chief
takes part in
the direction
of affairs.

The position of the Maharaja at once assumed a new importance. The Gotama Bai became the nominal head of the family ; nothing was changed in the routine of business at the palace ; the Regency continued their duties ; but the Chief took a larger share in the direction of affairs, and his personal influence became more felt.

A fourth
marriage,
June 5th,
1851.

A matrimonial alliance that had long been desired, was arranged between the Chief and the daughter of Jeswant Rao Khilari in June, 1851. The event was duly reported to the Governor-General, who was pleased to signify his approval, and forward a dress of honour for His Highness.

A tour in
Upper India,
1851-52.

It was now determined that the Maharaja should complete his education by making the grand tour in

Hindustan. He accordingly set out with a few companions, and visited, *incognito*, Agra, Delhi, Hardwar, Rurki, Jaipur, and other places of interest in Upper India. He travelled nearly the whole way on horseback. On his return he instituted many improvements suggested by what he had seen. Streets were widened and drained, and the system of police was improved. A diary kept on the tour, and afterwards lithographed, records the observations and impressions of the young Chief on first going out into the world, and is still read with interest by the people of Indore.

Shortly after his return, the Maharaja attained his majority, and the Governor-General in Council was pleased to announce his intention of entrusting him with the sole management of the State. To give effect to these instructions, a public durbar was held at the palace on the 8th of March, 1852 ; all the guaranteed Thakurs and the great landholders, headed by Dewan Nahar Singh, Chandrawat, the former ruler of Rampura, were present on the occasion, besides the public functionaries and high officers of State. The Resident, accompanied by his Assistants, by the Political Agents from Bhopal and Mehidpur, and by a number of officers from the force at Mhow, proceeded to the palace, where he was received with great state. When the ceremonies of reception were over, the Resident produced the Governor-General's letter, and placing it in the Maharaja's hands observed, that it afforded him great pleasure to be able to say that the Governor-General considered His Highness fit to undertake the high duties and responsibilities now confided to him as supreme ruler of the great inheritance to which he had been called; and he confidently

The Maharaja
attains his
majority,
March, 1852.

The Resi-
dent's
speech.

hoped His Highness would now by an assiduous attention to the task, which had thus devolved upon him, justify the step taken by the Governor-General, and maintain the high character he had already earned. To these remarks the Maharaja made a suitable reply. A royal salute was then fired in honour of the Governor-General's kharita, and the khillat was brought forward; but before it was presented the Resident took the opportunity of addressing the members of the Regency. He said that for nearly eight years the affairs of the State had been conducted by Dewan Ram Rao and Gopal Rao Baba as a Regency; that their administration had been productive of the happiest results, now evinced by the profound tranquillity that prevailed throughout the State, and which had not once been interrupted during the long minority now drawing to a close; that the town of Indore had doubled in extent; and that cultivation had increased. He would appeal to the presence of the Chandrawat in Durbar as a proof of the loyal feeling now prevalent in the State, and he urged him and the Thakurs to look up to the Maharaja as their Chief, and to remember that his honour and prosperity were identical with theirs. In conclusion, he added that it must afford the Regency satisfaction to relinquish office under such creditable circumstances, when the treasury was full, the troops paid up, the Thakurs loyal, and the people contented.

The kharita
and khillat.

Installation. The Resident then invested the Maharaja with the dress of honour, after which he placed the *guraz*, or sceptre, in his hands, declared the installation complete, and the rule of the Regency terminated. A royal salute was then fired by the guns of the United

Malwa Contingent. His Highness again addressed the Resident in a few words expressive of gratitude, after which trays with presents were laid on the floor as an offering to the Governor-General, and atr and pan were distributed.

Before the Durbar broke up, His Highness said that his first act should be one of charity. He then ordered two sanads to be made out, one for the school, and the other for the hospital, endowing each with Rs. 500 per mensem, payable from the revenues of the Indore District. These sanads being there and then sealed and ratified, the assembly dispersed.

A few days afterwards the Maharaja made a hand-
some provision for the members * of the late Regency, for his tutor, and for a number of his personal friends and followers, presenting them individually with sums of money and khillats in a public Durbar convened for the purpose.

One of the first grants of land made by His High-
ness was to Nahar Singh, Chandrawat, of Rampura, restoring to him his ancestral village, which had been confiscated, on his defeat and stibjection, by Jeswant Rao Holkar. This act tended greatly to conciliate the Rajput Thákurs, who looked up to Nahar Singh as the most important member of their order in the Holkar territories.

* Village of Rs. 1,200 a year to Ram Rao Phalsikar ; Gopal Rao, village of Rs. 3,600, with pension of Rs. 150 per mensem for life ; Umeid Singh, two villages—of Rs. 6,000, with title of Rai ; Kasi Rao Holkar (H. H.'s brother), villages of Rs. 11,000 ; Rao Ramchandra, villages of Rs. 1,400 ; and to Khuman Singh, villages of Rs. 700. To Siva Chandra, Kothari, His Highness granted a remission of Rs. 2,000 in his hereditary istamrar of Rs. 3,500.

Permanent
provision
made for
the school
and hospital.

Provision
made for
members of
the Regency
and others.

Second tour, 1853. In 1853 the Maharaja made a second tour, visiting

Bombay, Puna, and a number of places in the Deckan.

Armament in 1857. On the outbreak of the Mutiny in 1857,* Holkar had a military establishment consisting of about 2,000

regular and 400 irregular infantry; 2,000 regular and 1,200 irregular cavalry; 500 artillerymen, and 24 field-guns. The irregular portion of this force broke loose from all control and besieged the Resident, the late Sir Henry Durand, in the Residency. With some difficulty, and only to ensure the safety of the women and children under his charge, Colonel Durand retired to Sehore. Leaving the women and children there, he hastened to Asirgarh to direct the movements of the column advancing from Bombay to restore order in Central India. The Fort of Dhar was soon taken, Nimach was relieved after two actions fought at Mandessôr, order was completely restored, and the mutinous rabble that had attacked the Residency laid down their arms before Colonel Durand at Indore. The Government of India did not hold the Maharaja responsible for the mutinous conduct of his troops.

Exchange of territory, 1861, Chandore and Satwas. In 1861† Holkar agreed to exchange his Chandore estate in the Ahmednagar District of the Bombay

Presidency for the British share in the territory of Satwas Nimawar in the Central Provinces on condition that when the value of the lands had been ascertained, the balance on either side should be made good by a further transfer of land equal to the deficiency. In compliance with the Maharaja's request, the abkari, or excise, receipts were struck out of the accounts on

both sides,—an arrangement by which His Highness profited to the extent of Rs. 2,156 per annum. According to the terms of this compact, 231 villages in Satwas Nimawar with a land revenue of Rs. 28,872 were made over to Holkar in May, 1861. Owing to the difficulty of coming to a satisfactory decision as to the value of the nine villages of the Chandore estate, they were not transferred to the British Government till June, 1865 : the land revenue of these villages and of certain other lands ceded was finally valued at Rs. 29,619, leaving a balance in Holkar's favour of Rs. 747: The revenues of Nimawar which had been paid to Holkar for the four years previous to the actual transfer of Chandore, without any equivalent, were placed to his debit for future adjustment ; the difference between the revenue of Chandore and that of Nimawar being similarly placed to his credit. A sum of Rs. 11,410 was also credited to Holkar for his proprietary rights in certain holdings held on service tenure ; and deducting the amount due to the British Government on a similar account, there remained a cash payment of Rs. 3,595 in his favour. Rs. 5,836 were also paid to Holkar for repair of tanks.

Negotiations for the exchange of Holkar's remaining possessions in the Deccan and of a jagir held by him in Bulandshahr, and valued at Rs. 3,450 per annum, resulted in the transfer to the Maharaja in October, 1867, of the Nimar Districts of Barwai, Dhargaon, Khasrawad, and Mandlesar, numbering 176 villages. Further exchange of territory, 1867.

The public buildings of Mandlesar, formerly the head-quarters of the Nimar Agency, had been previously made over to Holkar in anticipation of the

completion of the exchanges, and on his representation that they were falling into disrepair, their estimated value, Rs. 42,441, was reduced to Rs. 13,225.

Barwai.

In consideration of the transfer of Barwai, which contains valuable forests and iron mines, Holkar consented to abolish all transit duties on the trunk road between Indore and the railway in Nimar; he also consented to purchase the iron works that had been established at Barwai for Rs. 50,000.

Chhota
Khasrawad

In 1868,* the jagir of Chhota Khasrawad of the annual value of Rs. 2,099, which had lapsed on the death of the jagirdar before the transfer of Khasrawad to Holkar, was made over to the Maharaja. The Bulandshahr jagir and the Wabgaon Estate with the villages of Serola in Khandeish and Beholi in Sholapur, were made over to the British Government at various dates between 1866 and 1868. The value of the Nimar Parganas was Rs. 41,950, that of Holkar's Deckan and Bulandshahr villages, Rs. 42,231 calculated on the accounts of 1863-64, thus showing a balance against the British Government of Rs. 281, subject to future adjustment on the reimbursement by Holkar of payments continued by Government to pensioners in the transferred districts of Nimar.

The Mehidpur Contingent, 1860.

An offer was made to Holkar in 1860 to make good the expenditure incurred by him in supplying the place of a portion of the Mehidpur Contingent which had mutinied in 1857: and the Agent to the Governor-General was directed to give credit to the Indore State for this in settling the accounts of the Maharaja's contri-

* *Vide* Aitchison, Vol. III, p. 574 (1876); Malcolm, No. 28, Schedule No III.

bution towards the maintenance of a contingent force for the protection of Malwa. Holkar at first declined the offer on the ground that he was bound to assist the Government, but three years later he preferred a claim for compensation on account of the entire expenditure incurred by him in entertaining extra levies during the mutiny, amounting to Rs. 3,06,992-8-3. This claim was admitted without question, and paid by remissions of tribute.

Prior to 1857, Holkar contributed Rs. 1,11,214 annually to the United Malwa Contingent and Rs. 7,862 to the Malwa Bhil Corps. The United Malwa Contingent proved faithless during the Mutiny, and was pronounced extinct in February, 1858. No new corps has been organised in its place, its duties being performed by troops of the line. The Malwa Bhil Corps did not mutiny ; and it has been reorganised as a military police corps. The British Government contributes Rs. 9,828 to this force. As one means of rewarding Holkar for his services in 1857, he was permitted to capitalise this contribution towards the Mehidpur Contingent and the Malwa Bhil Corps, and in 1865 signed an Agreement by which he engaged to pay a sum of Rs. 23,81,520 in ten years by half-yearly instalments of Rs. 1,19,076.

A yearly payment of Rs. 30,000 is made to Holkar by the British Government as compensation for his share of the district of Patan which was made over to Bundi in 1818. The Maharaja also receives through the British Government a tribute of Salim Sahi Rs. 72,700 on account of Partabgarh, but he has no feudal supremacy over that State. Before the commutation of his payment, he received credit

The Malwa
Bhil Corps.

Holkar
capitalises
contributions
to local corps,
1865.

Partabgarh
tribute.

for this tribute as part of his contribution towards the Malwa Contingent. It is realized from Partabgarh one year in arrears.

Right of
adoption and
Star of India,
1862.

In 1862, Holkar was granted the right of adoption by sanad ;* and in the same year he received the Grand Cross of the Most Exalted Order of the Star of India.

Cession of
lands for
railway,
1865.

In 1865, Holkar agreed to cede free of any charge all lands required for railway purposes, to give full civil and criminal jurisdiction, short of absolute sovereignty, over this land to the British Government, and to remit all transit dues on through-traffic. The British Government,† on the other hand, consented to

* Adoption sanad granted to His Highness Maharaja Dhiraj Rao Rajessar Sewai Tukaji Rao Holkar, G.C.S.I.,—Her Majesty being desirous that the Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India, who now govern their own territories, should be perpetuated, and that the representation and dignity of their houses should be continued, I hereby, in fulfilment of this desire, repeat to you the assurance already communicated to you in my kharita of January 5th, 1860, that on failure of heirs of your body, the adoption by yourself and future rulers of your state of a successor according to former usage will be recognized and confirmed. Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you so long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the condition of the treaties, grants, or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

(Sd.) CANNING.

11th March, 1862.

† MEMORANDUM.

(*Aitchison, No. CXI, Sindia, Vol. III, p. 326. 1876*)

CONCESSIONS MADE BY HOLKAR.

CONCESSIONS MADE BY BRITISH
GOVERNMENT.

1.—Holkar cedes, free of any charge, all lands required specially for the railway, its work and stations, provided that no lands within railway limits are taken up by any traders or rent-payers for the purpose of building shops

1.—The British Government agree to give up to Holkar all Durbar offenders who, having taken refuge within railway limits, may be found within such limits ; but if such persons shall

the extradition of all offenders who might take refuge within railway limits.

In 1869, Holkar offered to lend a crore of rupees to the British Government for the construction of a railway from Khandwa to Indore. The offer was accepted and terms of the loan were finally settled in the following year by a formal Agreement.* No

Holkar, 1869.
and carrying on trade to the injury of the interests of the Durbar by the withholding payments of taxes by such parties on the ground of their residing within those limits. And provided also, that all buildings, such as godowns, dharmasalas, &c., erected outside the railway limits, shall be entered under Durbar jurisdiction.

2.—Full civil and criminal jurisdiction over the lands required for the railway, its works and bridges, rests entirely with the British Government.

3.—Holkar remits all transit duty on the "through" traffic of the railway.

have passed on and escaped into British territories, their surrender must depend on the circumstances of the case and the pleasure of the British Government.

2.—Government will not hold the Durbar responsible for offences committed within railway limits, unless those offences are traced to subjects of the Durbar.

3.—Still retaining the right to exercise its discretion in particular cases, Government, as a general rule, will not object to deliver to Holkar for punishment Durbar subjects who may have been convicted and sentenced by Government officers for offence committed within railway limits.

* Agreement respecting a loan of one crore of rupees (a million sterling) offered by His Highness Maharaja Tukaji Rao Holkar, G.C.S.I., and accepted by the Government of India, for the purpose of constructing a Railway from the Great Indian Peninsula Railway to Indore.

1. The Government of India engages to make a railway from some point on the Great India Peninsula Railway to Indore, with all convenient speed, and to supply funds necessary for its construction and equipment.

2. The line to be called the Holkar State Railway.

3. The whole of the arrangements as to construction and equipment, as well as management after the line is open, to be exclusively in the hands of the Government of India.

4. The loan to be for 101 years, not transferable, to stand in the name of Maharaja Holkar of Indore, his heirs and successors.

sooner were the works put in hand than the Maharaja tried to levy royalties on the materials used in construction ; and it became necessary to point out to His Highness that this was a violation of the Agreement he had entered into.

A land settlement.

In the year 1865, the Maharaja began to institute enquiries with a view to a land settlement. This measure was regarded by those directly interested in the land with much dissatisfaction. It was intended that this new settlement should be based on the actual measurement of the lands leased under it, as ascertained by careful survey in each case—a plan that would deprive both the district officers, the village officers, and the cultivators of the profits they had hitherto derived from unassessed land, sometimes of considerable extent and value, held under their control, or immediately by them, and for which no rent had been paid or credited to the Durbar. It was proposed, moreover, to substitute a fixed scale of remuneration

Regular payment of village officers.

5. The Maharaja undertakes to pay the crore of rupees to the credit of the Government of India at the Bombay Treasury, within seven years from 6th June, 1870, as follows :—

25 lakhs, 1870-71	By quarterly instalment : first instalment on
20 lakhs, 1871-72	6th June, 1870.
55 lakhs, 1872-77	Eleven lakhs yearly, either in one payment or by quarterly instalments, at the option of Holkar.

6. The Government of India guarantees to Holkar, his heirs, and successors, interest on the above at the rate of four and-a-half per cent. per annum, payable half-yearly at Indore, with effect from date of loan ; payments at Bombay.

7. The Government of India further undertakes to pay to Holkar, his heirs, and successors, a sum equal to half the net profits (in excess of four and-a-half per cent. on the capital) on one million sterling, or any smaller sum, should the railway cost less, from the earnings of the line between Indore and the Great India Peninsula Railway, for which a separate capital account and revenue account will be kept.

tion for the irregular gains and perquisites hitherto enjoyed by the village officials, an innovation exceedingly distasteful to the village communities. By 1867 twenty districts had been settled and brought under the new rates of assessment, but the Durbar still hesitated to make the final distribution of leases, probably from a fear that it would be impracticable to raise the greatly enhanced rents. Holkar claims to be the proprietor of the land as well as the sovereign ruler of the occupants ; and whatever the soil produces over and above what the cultivators require for bare subsistence, is, he says, at his disposal. This idea lay at the root of the changes now made. The people, however, clamoured loudly against what had been done, condemning the new settlement in theory, and condemning the manner in which it had been executed. They declared that no fixed principle had been notified or followed. In some districts, especially in Narayan-garh, some hundreds of the cultivators left the State, and Holkar owed the recovery of his subjects to the famine in Rajputana. Finding Marwar a desert, without water or fodder, after an absence of some months, they straggled back impoverished to their old homes, and resumed cultivation on any terms. In Samer the people forbore to sow, pending a promise of relief from the burden of the new assessment. The Maha-raja himself visited the district and tried to allay the dissatisfaction by patiently discussing the matter with the villagers.

“ His Highness* is always accessible and forthcoming to his subjects, and doubtless relies much on the effect of his personal influence. But his gracious

Remarks on
new settle-
ment by the
A. G. G.

“ness of speech has lost its charms, for the people
 “have rarely found substantial redress to follow.
 “Then again, the uncertainty as to the permanence
 “of an assessment causes disquietude. It is no
 “unusual thing for an assessment which has been ap-
 “parently deliberately fixed, to be upset and enhanced
 “within a few months on re-consideration. Instances,
 “great and small, of this practice are common. Dur-
 “ing the last year the settlement of the Indore
 “District has occupied the consideration of His High-
 “ness. In November last, the *Durbar Intelligence*
 “writer announced that the gross collection had been
 “shown to reach Rs. 2,97,057, and the assessment
 “would therefore stand at three lakhs: within ten
 “weeks of that date, this was changed to four lakhs.
 “Beyond an occasional notice in the *Durbar Intelli-
 “gence* that the returns of irrigated lands have been
 “found incorrect, and that, in consequence, the pro-
 “fits of the State have gone elsewhere, there is nothing
 “to satisfy the ryots of the reason for such changes;
 “and their introduction, with a passing comment, is
 “little calculated to raise confidence.

The Inam
commission.

“Probably the root of the prevalent distrust is in
 “the working of the inam commission established by
 “His Highness and still in operation. With one
 “qualified exception, (the patel,) no holding, however
 “ancient, can stand without the production of a dur-
 “bar sanad; mere length of possession counts for
 “nothing.

“In Malwa and other distant conquests of the Mah-
 “rattas, sanads were issued to petty thakurs and zamin-
 “dars by komashdars and local officials of the Peishwa
 “or his lieutenants, and, till the institution of this

No princi-
ple followed.

“commission, their validity has never been questioned. “Holdings which have thus been transmitted from “father to son through many generations, now lapse “to the State. With Patels only is the confiscation “qualified ; in their case, on proof of uninterrupted “possession for sixty years, a retention of seventeen bi- “gas per cent. is permitted. His Highness is inclined “to question any rights in land as hereditary, save those “of the State.

“The one principle conspicuous in the new settle- Denial of
“ment is the denial of the cultivator's possession of the cultivator's right in
“beneficiary and hereditary rights in the land, and the soil.
“the assertion of the right of the State to deal as it
“wills with its tenure and revenue. This view was
“admitted by Sir John Malcolm as true of Malwa.
“In fact, in no Native State has the cultivator any
“hereditary *right* in land, though in practice dispos-
“session is rare.

“On the part of the Durbar, it should be stated that Palliating
“there is no reason to doubt the correctness of the circumstances.
“survey which is to be the basis of the settlement.
“Prior to its introduction, the loosest and rudest
“mode of land measurement was in vogue, and all
“against the interest of the cultivator.

“The Durbar, to assist the people in meeting the
“enhanced rates, has changed the dates for collecting
“revenue instalments, so as to allow time for the sale of
“produce before payment. Money has also been
“advanced for wells and the breaking up of waste
“lands. Yet these considerate provisions have fail-
“ed to allay the general distrust in the financial
“arrangements of the Durbar. The enhancement of The change,
“rates was sudden, without gradation or breathing sudden and
great.

“space, in many instances, above 100 per cent. “Nimawar lands, transferred in exchange by the “Government of India in 1861 to Holkar at a valuation of Rs. 28,000 per annum, are now assessed at “Rs. 1,00,000. If the ryots can live under this “change, the result to the Durbar will be to double “its land revenue, and the income will be still “further swollen by the progress of the Inam Com-“mission. Good crops and high prices can alone enable “the cultivators to meet the assessments ; any falling “off in these must bring a collapse.”*

**The Durbar
and the
Thakurs**

Differences between the Durbar and its feudatory Thakurs had been a source of disquietude for many years. These Thakurs, in many cases, offshoots of the best Rajput houses, had been settled in their Malwa holdings from immemorial times, and had offered a stubborn resistance to Mahratta aggression.

* In the Report for the year 1869-70, General Daly writes:—
“The revenue assessments engross the Maharaja’s attention ; the market price of produce is carefully watched, and forms his guide as to what the land can bear. He has frequently discussed the question with me ; his principle is, that as ruler and owner he is entitled to make the most of the soil ; that everything which it produces is his, beyond the subsistence of the cultivator ; that so long as prices remain about the present rate, the assessment will stand ; should there be a fall, it will be graduated accordingly. His Highness attributes the dissatisfaction of the ryots to the suddenness of the difference in demands induced by the discoveries of the survey begun five years ago, which brought to light a state of such utter neglect for the interests of the Durbar that in some cases an increase of cent. per cent. was justifiable. When conversing with me a few days ago, the Maharaja said :—‘It was the abruptness of the rise, and not its injustice, which caused the outcry amongst the people. Perhaps, I erred in going to the extreme at one spring, but there was no reason for leaving so important a question in neglect, and it was better I should bear the burden of adjustment than leave it to my children. You hear and think much of my unpopularity ; that it is a thing not worth thinking about. No rule is popular : yours is not ; and I know of none that is.’”

On the intervention of the British Government for the restoration of order in Central India, a list of these Barons was drawn up, and to those whose claims to proprietorship in the soil appeared most indefeasible, guarantees of protection were given by the Paramount Power. The publication of their names, however, was the signal for the spoliation of all the more inconsiderable Thakurs who did not appear on this roll. Many lost their holdings altogether ; others with ancient rights of jurisdiction and proprietorship were reduced from the position of feudal lords to that of cultivating yeomen, or zamindars. *Sirdeshmukhi** was imposed upon them, a tax which they said would brand them with a stamp of fealty, and which they accordingly resisted.

The remarks of the Agent to the Governor-General on this subject are well worthy of being recorded. "Successive Political Officers† have dwelt for years "passed on the disquietude of Thakurs under Indore, "at the crumbling away of holdings which have been "in their families, generations before the Mahrattas "swarmed up the Vindhya. The Mahratta policy, "when rule depended upon it, was not to uproot old "institutions, but so to weld them to their own pur- "poses that they could hold what they conquered. "In this way the Rajput Thakurs, with varying "power, remained undisturbed, paying a higher or "lower tribute, or quit-rent, for their lands to the

The Agent to
the Governor-
General, on
relations be-
tween the
Durbar and
the Thakurs.

* *Sirdeshmukhi* consists of the following items :—

Seven per cent. on the revenue ;

Rupees five bhet yearly in cash ;

Twenty-five bigas of land, with plough.

† Annual Report, Central India Agency, for 1869-70.

“Peishwa, or his lieutenants. Confiscation or dis-
 “possession was unknown. For thirty years and up-
 “wards after Malcolm’s settlement there is no trace
 “of interference with the Thakurs on the part of the
 “Durbar, but things have radically changed since the
 “settlement; at that time the difficulty was not with
 “Holkar, a fugitive, with shattered forces and an
 “empty treasury, but to prevail on the brotherhood
 “of Thakurs to submit to order; and this submission
 “was only accomplished by the guarantee of the
 “British Government for their lands, or money-pay-
 “ments, in lieu of exactions. With succeeding years
 “the Holkar State, under the security of the British
 “garrisons of Mhow and Mehidpur, has become rich
 “and settled, while the strength and influence of the
 “Thakurs have been ebbing away, and they now
 “yearn only to live in peace at their villages, retain-
 “ing the little which is left. It is the old tale,—Men
 “of this stamp with such traditions do not turn their
 “swords into ploughshares in one generation, but
 “with many of them change has set in, and their
 “lands are carefully tilled.

Position of
Thakurs after
Malcolm’s
settlement.

“Malwa has had unbroken rest since Malcolm’s
 “time; his settlement was accepted, every Thakur
 “enjoyed what he had, and the *status quo* remained
 “unquestioned for nearly forty years. But after the
 “Mutiny the Indore Durbar pointed out that several
 “Thakurs who had lived under our mediation during
 “years past were not on Malcolm’s list, nor in posses-
 “sion of a British guarantee for lands or income, and
 “claimed that this mediation should cease, and that
 “they should be left to the Durbar like other sub-
 “jects. Many had received our protection, in the

"positions held by themselves or their fathers, who
 "had no written claim to it. The question was not
 "raised so long as the remembrance of the anarchy
 "of former times was fresh, and the Durbar looked
 "to the influence of the British Resident for the
 "maintenance of order amongst the subdued Thakurs.
 "The benefit of our mediation during this period
 "was on the side of the Durbar. The publication in ^{Effect of} ~~publishing~~ ^{guarantees.}
 "the volumes of the Treaties of the names of those
 "holding our guarantee dealt a death-blow at the
 "possessions of those who were not on the roll.
 "Prior to this our protection had been accepted for
 "all. Sindia and Holkar took umbrage at the shackles
 "of the guarantee, and Holkar, entirely forgetful of
 "its origin, and the benefits his State had derived
 "from it, entered on the confiscation of lands with-
 "out it. Petty Thakurs and others were dispossess-
 "ed, and nothing was known beyond the scene,
 "except in the hum of discontent which spread.
 "The large Thakurs flocked to Indore to claim the
 "intercession of the Governor-General's Agent.—'No
 "ruler, said they, has yet attempted to dispossess
 us of our lands, and but for you no ruler could do
 "so. It is you who prevent us from defending our
 "own. Surely you will save us from spoliation.'—
 "Colonel Meade did intercede again and again,
 "but the Maharaja did not stay his hand. I think
 "there is now* a gleam of hope, and that the Maharaja
 "is contemplating a change of policy towards these
 "ancient Thakurs, who have the sympathy of the
 "native community. One case will illustrate the
 "ground of my hope. The Thakur of Karaudia,† one ^{Karaudia} ~~confiscated,~~
 "

* 1869.

† *Vide* Aitchison (1876), Vol. III, p. 414.

1865.

"of the most influential of those under guarantee,
 "receives cash payments from Sindia, Holkar, and
 "Bhopal, exceeding Rs. 3,400 a year, and holds lands
 "guaranteed and unguaranteed from Sindia. The vil-
 "lage of which he bears the name is in Indore territory,
 "and has been held by the Thakur's ancestors for up-
 "wards of two hundred years on a quit-rent, which for
 "some generations has been Rs. 1,200 a year. In 1865
 "the Maharaja Holkar confiscated the village of Karau-
 "dia on the ground that its sanad was not guaranteed.
 "The Thakur, one of the most sensible and prominent
 "of his class, had invested money in improving his
 "homestead, but all was swept away in the confiscation.
 "He came to Indore in 1866 to pray for our intercession
 "and the Maharaja's clemency, and here he remained
 "without once visiting his home, till a few weeks ago
 "(1869), when he returned with the sanad renewed
 "by Holkar at a quit-rent of Rs. 1,800 instead of
 "Rs. 1,200, a difference to which he gratefully agreed.
 "After the restitution the Maharaja received the Thakur
 "in durbar, accepted the nazzar, and gave him a khil-
 "lat in return. Holkar told him he had always heard
 "well of him ; and asked if it was true that he had
 "sent an elephant to the Shrine of Omkar Mandhatta
 "for the intercession of the deity in his favour. The
 "Thakur said he had done so years ago. Holkar ex-
 "pressed great satisfaction :—'You are a pious man,
 "and such offerings are more praiseworthy than parad-
 "ing your case before the sahibs as others have
 "done.' ***

* Mir Mahomed Shahamat Ali, C.S.I., now Superintendent of Rutlam,
 was appointed to arbitrate between the Maharaja and the Thakurs. He
 gave a decision favourable to the claims of the latter.

In 1872 it was ascertained that Holkar had set on foot a manufactory of breech-loading small arms and had cast cannon in considerable numbers without the knowledge of Government. He was informed that the accumulation of arms of precision and cannon in the arsenals of the Indore State could not be justified by for purposes of internal safety, or by the necessity of external defence, and he was accordingly required to abandon the manufacture of arms in his own State and their importation from abroad.

The frontier between Indore and Khandeish,*—^{The Khan-deish Frontier.} clearly defined under article VI of the Treaty of Mandessôr to be the cession of all Holkar's territories, and claims of every description whatever within and south of the Satpura Range of hills, as well as all his possessions in Khandeish and those districts,— appears never to have been surveyed and demarcated ; this was owing perhaps in some measure to the clearness of the frontier line, a range of mountains, and also to the insalubrity of the climate on the southern slopes, stunted forests and malarious jungles, inhabited by Bhils, and rarely visited even by English sportsmen. For years complaints were made by the Khandeish authorities of the encroachments of the Durbar officials, and in 1864, with the sanction of Government, a Commission was appointed to fix the boundary line on evidence taken on the ground. Of course it would have been competent for Colonel Meade to direct the Commissioners to follow the range of hills according to the Treaty ; but being aware that over certain Bhil holdings and villages to the

Concessions
made to
Indore.

south of the range the Durbar had never ceased to exercise some sway, it was determined that uninterrupted possession should be held as proof. Accordingly a thoroughly liberal consideration was given to the Durbar's wishes, and a line which gave great concessions to Indore was fixed, to the satisfaction of its Agent who attended the Commission.

Holkar dis-
satisfied.

This in no way satisfied the Maharaja; he fought for his claims in full. He averred that records were in existence cancelling the article of the Treaty, and that the original or copies could be found at Puna, or in the office at Khandaish. He desired to send his own people to search ; this was permitted, and every opportunity afforded, but without result. In this way years passed. His Highness, in March, 1868, entreated that a final application should be made to the Government of Bombay: this, too, was allowed.

Investiga-
tions.

Colonel Meade, with unwearied temper and patience, again and again discussed the case with the Maharaja. The appeal of His Highness was answered paragraph by paragraph. The evidence of Bhils, whose bread with Holkar was at stake, was taken by British officers pacing the ground they inhabited ; everything which time could produce was permitted to enable the Maharaja to prove that an article in the Treaty by which he holds his possessions was void.

Holkar
reiterates
claims.

The Maharaja returned again and again to the charge ; and this year (1878), on Sir Richard Temple, the Governor of Bombay, visiting Indore, important concessions were made to His Highness, which perhaps may be looked upon as definitive. By these concessions some three hundred and fifty square miles of wild, hill country were added to the State of Indore.

Before the appointment of Sir Mahadeva Rao Tan-jorkar as Minister, the system of rule pursued by the Maharaja Holkar was strictly autocratic. He himself was the supreme legislative and judicial authority. He made what laws seemed expedient to him; and enforced them when convenient. The principal State officials consisted of an hereditary and merely nominal Minister; and a Deputy Minister, exercising certain administrative functions and assisting the Chief. These two, together with the three officers commanding, respectively, the cavalry, artillery, and infantry, formed a Council. But this body was merely a medium through which the Maharaja communicated orders, and received reports, representations, and suggestions: it possessed no definite authority. There were two high judicial officers, but they had no code to guide them, and their decrees and orders were reversible at pleasure by the Chief. The two principal District Officers were the Subas of Rampura and Khargaon, who had only authority to deal with petty cases, and were closely watched by the Durbar.* The Revenue Department was, however, administered with the utmost care under the immediate supervision of the Maharaja. There being no recognised landed

Mode of conducting administration.

The Revenue Department.

* "The marvel is that under such a system the administration of the State is carried on as well as is the case; and that it is so, is mainly in my opinion due to the fact that the Chief, when roused, acts with undoubted energy; that he readily hears and enquires into complaints of corruption or oppression against his officials, and, when such are proved to his satisfaction, punishes the accused parties with the utmost severity. The dread thereby inspired amongst this class, doubtless prevents the amount of aggravated mismanagement that would otherwise naturally occur." * * * * * "The Chief's orders when obtained are, as a rule, promptly attended to."—*Col. Meade's Annual Report, 1865-66.*

proprietary in] the State, the revenue was collected, according to the settlement, either under the *khalsa* system, direct by the Durbar from the cultivators, or under a modified *ijara* system, through contractors, who furnished security for the payment of the State demand from the villages contracted for by them, receiving a per-centa ge on the same for their trouble.

Sir Mahadeva Rao Tanjorkar, K.C.S.I., 1873-74. Sir Mahadeva Rao Tanjorkar was appointed Minister in 1872. In his report for the year 1873-74, he

gives the following sketch of the administrative machinery employed under his guidance:—“Sir Mahadeva Rao Tanjorkar,* as His Highness’s Minister, “presides over the Durbar office. He is assisted by a “number of Ministers, among whom the work is distributed. All communications relative to public “affairs are, as a general rule, to which the exceptions “are diminishing, addressed to the Durbar. They “are disposed of by the heads of the several Departments.

The Minister’s functions.

“Replies are prepared and brought to Sir Mahadeva Rao for his signature, they being previously tested “by the particular minister to whose department they “appertain. Important matters are brought up for “consideration and special instructions. Where any “matters of special gravity or difficulty require to be “dealt with, all, or most, of the Ministers are invited “to discuss and deliberate. Thus a principle of “individual and collective responsibility is maintained.

Reference to the chief.

“Routine matters go on without reference to His Highness the Maharaja. But where any additional

* Annual Report, Central India Administration, 1873-74.

“expenditure is involved, or extraordinary matters in
“relation to the British Agency, or matters of capital,
“or life punishment are concerned, references are
“made to His Highness, and his commands taken. No
“important changes in the existing system can be
“carried out without special sanction from His High-
“ness.

“His Highness specially retains to himself the ^{The Revenue} Department.
“Department of land revenue, in which His High-
“ness takes a deep interest. As a rule, His High-
“ness calls for any papers he may like in any Depart-
“ment and passes his orders. Sir Mahadeva Rao has
“always free access to His Highness, and so far
“there is every facility afforded by His Highness
“for representations and discussions. Sir Mahadeva
“Rao carries on all important correspondence in
“English direct with the Agency office.

“A Sadr or Central Court has been established ^{The Sadr} Court.
“to perform appellate work of the highest order,
“and to control the whole range of civil and criminal
“work below. This Court is presided over by two
“excellent Judges who possess the advantages of a
“liberal English education and of special knowledge
“of the science and practice of law. The salary of
“the First Judge is Rs. 800, and that of the Second
“Judge Rs. 500 per mensem. There have also been
“established three Zilla Courts, one at Indore, another
“at Mandlesar, and the last at Rampura. These
“Courts are each presided over by one Judge.

“Three subas have been appointed, namely, one ^{The three} Subas.
“for Indore, another for Rampura, and the last for
“Nimar. The powers of the Courts of the Subas, of
“the Amins, Vehiwatdars, and of other officers have

" been determined and laid down, and a course of "appeals within moderate limits defined."

The Cotton
Mill.

A cotton mill established about eight years ago at a cost of nearly ten lakhs contributes year by year larger sum to the Maharaja's Treasury. There are 20 single carding engines ; 10,272 spindles ; and 224 looms at work. In 1876-77 its total expenses amounted to Rs. 2,01,000, while the receipts aggregated Rs. 3,07,000 ; thus leaving a profit of Rs. 1,06,000 for the year. The out-turn of cloth was 516,387lbs. and of yarn 40,588lbs., while the demand for both yarn and cloth greatly exceeded this supply. The cloth made is what is called long cloth and T. cloth. Two qualities are made ; for the inferior the price ranges from $9\frac{1}{2}$ to $10\frac{1}{2}$ annas, and for the superior from $10\frac{1}{2}$ to $11\frac{1}{2}$ annas. The cotton used is chiefly grown in Malwa and Nimar. Mr. Broome who, from the beginning, has managed the concern admirably, is now in England purchasing additional machinery.

Visit of H. E.
the Viceroy,
1875.

On the 11th of November, 1875, His Excellency the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, the Right Honorable Lord Northbrook, visited Indore.

This was the first occasion on which a Governor-General has visited Malwa.

Ceremonials
observed.

At Mortakka His Excellency was met by General Sir Henry Daly, the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, accompanied by one Assistant.

Guard of
honor.

At Choral Chauki a guard of honor, consisting of one company of Native Infantry from Mhow, commanded by a British officer, received the Viceroy.

Escort.

From here His Excellency was conveyed by carriage to Indore, the Royal Horse Artillery providing three

teams of four horses each. The Central India Horse furnished the escort.

As the visit was a hurried one, the reception of His Excellency at the borders of Indore territory by the Maharaja was dispensed with. His Highness, accompanied by the Minister, met the Viceroy at a distance of three miles from the Residency limits, and conveyed His Excellency and the Agent to the Governor-General to the Residency in his own carriage. The road was lined with Indore troops. The Central India Horse escort preceded the cortége.

A guard of honor was drawn up at the Residency, ^{A Royal Salute.} and His Excellency on arriving, under a royal salute fired by the Maharaja's guns, was met by the Chiefs of Dewas and Sillana, and a number of native nobles and gentlemen.

On taking leave of the Viceroy, His Highness the Maharaja left the Residency under a salute of 21 guns, and was attended by an escort of Central India Horse.

Early on the following morning four of the principal Sirdars of His Highness proceeded to the Residency ^{Deputation from the palace: *mizaj-pursi*.} to enquire after the Viceroy's health. They were received by the Foreign and Private Secretaries ; and on leaving, the Foreign Secretary distributed atr and pan.

Later on, His Highness, accompanied by his two sons, ^{Visit of H. H. to the Viceroy.} his brother and nine of his principal Sirdars, paid a private visit to the Viceroy. The Second Assistant met the Chief at the usual point and conducted him to the Residency, where he was received by the First Assistant ^{*istiqbal*.} and conducted to the top of the entrance staircase. Here he was met by the Agent to the Governor-General and the Foreign Secretary, who led His Highness to

the edge of the carpet, where he was received by the Viceroy and conducted to a seat on his right hand.

Ceremonials. The sons of His Highness, Sir Kasi Rao, the First Assistant, and the Sirdars sat on his right. The Agent to the Governor-General, the Foreign Secretary, the Private Secretary, the Military Secretary, and His Excellency's personal staff sat on the left side. After a few minutes' conversation, the Sirdars were introduced by the First Assistant, and presented the usual nazzars, which were touched and remitted. Atr and pan was then given to the Maharaja by the Viceroy himself, and afterwards distributed to the Sirdars by the Foreign Secretary. On the Maharaja quitting the Residency, ceremonies similar to those of the reception were observed. On the arrival and departure of His Highness a salute of 21 guns was fired, and a guard of honor was drawn up in front of the Residency.

The Return Visit.

On the afternoon of the same day, His Excellency the Viceroy accompanied by the Agent to the Governor-General, the Foreign Secretary, the Private and Military Secretaries, and the personal staff returned the visit of His Highness the Maharaja Holkar. Four of the principal Sirdars met His Excellency at a point opposite to the residence of His Highness the Raja of Dewas (Dada Sahib). At a short distance from the Lall Bagh the First Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General and the Maharaja's Minister met the cortége. On His Excellency alighting from his carriage, he was received by the Maharaja and seated on the right hand of His Highness. On the left sat the First Assistant, the Minister, and the Sirdars ; on the right, the Agent to the Governor-General, the Foreign Secretary, the Private and Military Secretaries, and the personal staff.

After a few minutes' conversation, His Highness's principal Sirdars were presented to the Viceroy by the First Assistant. They presented the usual nazzars, which were touched and remitted. On leaving, atr and pan were presented to the Viceroy, the Agent to the Governor-General, and the Foreign Secretary by His Highness himself, and to the other officers present by the principal Sirdars in waiting. Royal salutes were fired on the arrival and departure of the Viceroy, and a guard of honor was drawn up in front of the palace in the Lall Bagh, where the durbar was held. At the conclusion of the visit, the Viceroy with the Maharaja proceeded to witness the illumination of the city. His Highness accompanied the Viceroy through the city and took leave at the bridge. A deputation of four Sirdars escorted His Excellency back to the Residency.

His Highness soon after this proceeded to Calcutta Visit to Calcutta, 1875. to be present at the reception of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, and to attend a chapter of the Star of India. His Highness was accompanied by Captain Maitland, the Second Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General.

In March, 1876, His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales visited Malwa. On the 7th of that month he Visit of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, 1876. was met at Khandwa by General Sir Henry Daly, the Agent to the Governor-General for Central India. As the Prince of Wales was travelling expeditiously, the Maharaja was not required to go to the borders of his State to meet His Royal Highness.

His Highness attended by the First Assistant to the The reception. Agent to the Governor-General, the Minister, and the principal Sirdars of Indore met His Royal Highness at

a distance of three miles from the limits of the Residency.

Roads lined. The troops of the State lined the road by which the Prince travelled for a distance of three miles from the limits of the Residency. Within Residency limits the roads were lined by British soldiers. His Royal Highness's carriage was drawn from Choral by three teams provided by the Royal Horse Artillery.

Escort. An escort furnished by the 3rd (K. O.) Hussars attended His Royal Highness.

Guard of honor. In front of the Residency a guard of honor was drawn up with the Queen's Color, and the Band of the 108th Regiment.

Salute. On the arrival of His Royal Highness a salute of 21 guns was fired ; the troops presented arms ; and the band played the national anthem.

Reception by Chiefs. The following Chiefs were in attendance at the Residency to receive His Royal Highness,—the Raja of Dhar, the two Rajas of Dewas, the Nawab of Jaora, and the Raja of Ratlam.

The General Commanding and the Officers of the Mhow Garrison were also present.

On His Royal Highness alighting from the carriage, the Maharaja Holkar took leave.

Private Durbar. On the following day His Royal Highness received the Maharaja in private durbar. Holkar was accompanied by his two sons, his brother, the Minister, and nine of his principal Sirdars. He was met at the Residency limits by the Second Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, and by two Officers of the Prince's staff. On alighting at the Residency His Highness was met by Major Sartorius and the First Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General ;

and at the top of the staircase by the Agent to the Governor-General, Major Henderson, and an Aide-de-Camp. By these officers he was conducted to the presence-chamber, where he was received by His *Istiqbal*. Royal Highness the Prince of Wales at the edge of the carpet and led to a seat on his right hand. Major Henderson, Major Sartorius, and the First Assistant sat on the Maharaja's right hand, while the Agent to the Governor-General and the staff of His Royal Highness sat on the left.

After a brief conversation the sirdars in attendance ^{Presenta-} were introduced by Major Henderson and presented _{tions.} the usual nazzars, which were touched and remitted. The Maharaja's offering was then brought in and presented to the Prince.

His Royal Highness gave atr and pan to the ^{Atr and pan.} Maharaja, who rose from his seat to receive it. Major Henderson then distributed atr and pan to the Maharaja's sons, the Minister, and the principal Sirdars in attendance ; and Major Sartorius to the others.

Ceremonies similar to those of the reception were observed on the departure of His Highness the ^{Departure of} _{the Maharaja.} Maharaja. On each occasion a salute of 21 guns was fired ; and a guard of honor consisting of a company of European Infantry with band and colors was drawn up in front of the Residency.

In the evening the Maharaja gave a State dinner at ^{State Dinner.} the Residency in honor of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales.

On the following day the Prince of Wales paid a ^{Return visit.} return visit to the Maharaja. His Royal Highness was escorted by half a battery of Royal Horse Artillery,

one troop of the 3rd (K. O.) Hussars, and one troop of the Central India Horse. The Agent to the Governor-General for Central India, the Major-General Commanding at Mhow, Major Henderson, Major Sartorius, and the personal staff accompanied the Prince of Wales.

Deputation. Half an hour before leaving the Residency four of the principal Officers of the Durbar waited upon His Royal Highness to conduct him to the Maharaja's palace.

Peshwai. The Minister, accompanied by the First Assistant to the Agent to the Governor-General, met the cortége at a distance of half a mile from the palace.

Reception. As His Royal Highness alighted from the carriage he was received by the Maharaja, who conducted him to the Durbar chamber and seated him on his right-hand.

Seats in durbar. On the right of His Royal Highness sat the Agent to the Governor-General, the Major-General Commanding the Mhow Division, and the personal staff; on the left sat Major Henderson, Major Sartorius, the First Assistant, and the Sirdars of the State according to precedence.

Presentations. The officers and sirdars of the Maharaja's Court were presented to His Royal Highness. Each presented a nazzar of one gold mohur, which was touched and remitted.

Gifts. The return gifts of His Royal Highness were then brought in and presented to the Maharaja.

At and pan. At parting atr and pan were presented to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, the Agent to the Governor-General, to Major Henderson, and to the Major-General Commanding the Mhow Division by the Maharaja himself.

A royal salute was fired on the arrival and departure of the Prince; a guard of honor was in attendance; and the Maharaja's troop lined the streets through which His Royal Highness passed.

When the Prince of Wales was leaving Indore, ^{H. R. H.} the Maharaja again visited the Residency to bid His ^{leaving Indore.} Royal Highness farewell and to conduct him to the carriage that was to convey him to the Holkar State Railway.

The Maharaja Tukaji Rao Holkar was raised to the ^{The Imperial Assemblage,} dignity of a Counsellor of the Empress at the ^{1877.} Imperial Assemblage; and was granted, as a personal distinction, a salute of 21 guns; 19 guns being the salute attached to his Chiefship. His Highness* also received a Banner and Medal as memorials of the vast ceremonial in which he had come so far to take part. In presenting these, the Viceroy was pleased to use the following gracious words:—"I present ^{Presentation of Banner.} Your Highness with this Banner, on which are blazoned the armorial bearings of your family, as "a personal gift from Her Majesty the Queen, in commemoration of her assumption of the title of 'Empress of India.' Her Majesty trusts that it may never be unfurled without reminding you, not only of the close union between the Throne of England and your loyal and princely house, but also of the earnest desire of the Paramount Power to see your dynasty strong, prosperous, and permanent."

"I further decorate you,"—placing round the Maha- ^{Presentation of Medal.} raja's neck a crimson ribbon, from which a gold medal was suspended,—“by command of the Queen

* In common with all the Ruling Chiefs present at Delhi.

“ and Empress with this medal. May it be long
“ worn by yourself, and long kept as an heirloom by
“ your family, in remembrance of the auspicious date
“ it bears.”

Conclusion.

These words were peculiarly significant, as they must have been peculiarly gratifying to one who, without the shadow of a claim, or the means of asserting one, was raised from an obscure position to the sovereign honors of a great house, and was placed in possession of rich and far spreading territories that, in default of heirs, had virtually lapsed to the Paramount Power.

The present
Maharaja.

*His Highness the Maharaja Dhiraj, Raj Rajessar
Sewai, Sir Tukaji Rao Holkar Bahadur, Knight
Grand Cross of the Most Exalted Order of the
Star of India, Counsellor of the Empress,* is an able and successful ruler. And as to the British Government, he owes the whole of his wide domains and princely honors, the British Government will accordingly ever look to him for that allegiance and support which his exalted rank and his remarkable personal qualities are so calculated to render conspicuous and exemplary.

SEVAJI RAO HOLKAR, *Bala Sahib*, eldest son of ^{Bala Sahib, Senior.} His Highness the Maharaja, and heir apparent, is now about twenty years of age. He has been carefully educated, and has travelled a good deal in Upper India, Bengal, and the Deckan. When a boy, he attended the Indore High School for about a year; and, subsequently, he completed his education at the Residency (Rajkumar) College. His first teacher was Wasudeva Mahadaji Nazim, of the High School ; who was succeeded by Rao Bahadur Venayak Janardan Kirtane, now Deputy Minister at Baroda. This gentleman conducted his education for upwards of seven years with much success. Afterwards, for about a year and-a-half, Pandit Nil Kauth Rao Janardan Kirtane took charge of the young Prince's education, in addition to other duties in the High School : and at the end of this period Mr. Anand Rao Tanjorkar, son of Raja Sir Mahadeva Rao, was appointed tutor ; but he soon resigned to take up an appointment in the Maisur Commission. He was succeeded by Captain Norman Franks, who still holds the tutorship. *Bala Sahib* has an excellent practical knowledge of English ; and besides being a bright and diligent student, he is a very keen and successful sportsman.

JESWANT RAO HOLKAR, *Bala Sahib*, is His High- ^{Bala Sahib, Junior.} ness the Maharaja's second son. He has enjoyed the same educational advantages as his brother, and has generally accompanied him on his tours and hunting excursions.

Sir Kasi Rao. RAO SIR KASI RAO HOLKAR, *Dada Sahib*, K.C.S.I., is His Highness the Maharaja's elder brother. He is a considerable jagirdar, and holds high office in the military department of the administration.

Bolia Sahib. GOVIND RAO BOLIA, *Appa Sahib*, is, through his grandmother, the Bima Bai Sahiba, a great grandson of Jeswant Rao Holkar. He married a daughter, now deceased, of His Highness the Maharaja Tukaji Rao Holkar. He now lives in the Indore Residency Bazaar, on an allowance assigned to him for life by the British Government.

SUMMARY.

MALHAR RAO HOLKAR, founder of dynasty, born (about)...	1693	Malhar Rao,
Joins army of Peishwa as leader of 500 horse ...	1724	1731—1765.
Receives from Peishwa 12 districts north of the Nar-		
badda ...	1728	
Receives 70 additional districts north of the Narbadda	1731	
Malwa is committed to his charge by the Peishwa	1731	
District of Indore assigned for support of troops	1733	
Receives from Peishwa the title of Subadar of Malwa	1751	
Receives from Delhi Emperor Sardeshmukhi of Chandor	1751	
After Panipat he retires to possessions in Malwa	1761	
Dies	1765	
 MALI RAO HOLKAR succeeds his grandfather	1765	Mali Rao,
Dies	1766	1765 1766.
 AHALIA BAI assumes charge of the State	1766	Ahalia Bai,
She appoints Tukaji Holkar Commander-in-Chief	1767	1766—1795.
Tukaji, in conjunction with Madhaji Sindia, engaged against		
Colonel Goddard's force	1780	
Tukaji defeated by De Boigne at Lakheli near Ajmir	1792	
Ahalia Bai dies at Mahesar, aged 60 ...	1795	
 TUKAJI HOLKAR succeeds to the State ...	1795	Tukaji Hol-
Tukaji Holkar dies after reigning nearly two years	1797	kar, 1795— 1797.
 JESWANT RAO, illegitimate son of above, succeeds his father	1798	Jeswant
He forms alliance with Amir Khan at Ranaganj	1798	Rao, 1798— 1808.
Enters upon a war with Daulat Rao Sindia	1799	
Battles of Ujjain and Indore ; victorious in former, defeated		
in latter	1801	
After plundering Ratlam, Amjhira, and Khandwa, and lay-		
* ing waste Mewar and Khandeish, defeats combined forces		
of Sindia and Peishwa at Puna	1802	

Two months after its seizure, he plunders and leaves Puna	1802
Enters upon a war with the British	... ... 1804
Having defeated Colonel Monson's small force, he attacks	
Delhi unsuccessfully, and is defeated at Fattehgarh and	
Dig	... ... ... ... 1805
Takes refuge in Bharatpur, holding out against Lord Lake	1805
Pursued across the Satlej, and concludes treaty of peace	
and amity	... ... ... ... 1805
Lays waste Jaipur, and re-forms his army in Marwar	... 1806
Returns to Rampura; casts cannon; re-organizes army	... 1807
Becomes insane	... ... ... ... 1808

Tulsa Bai, 1808—1817.	TULSA BAI assumes direction of affairs as Regent	... 1808
	Jeswant Rao dies at Bhanpura	... ... 1811
	Ghaffur Khan and Zalim Singh of Kôta crush insurrection	
	against succession of Malhar Rao	... ... 1812
	Envoy from Baji Rao seeks alliance with Holkar, hostile to	
	British	... ... ... ... 1815
	A second envoy comes on similar errand	... ... 1816

MalharRao II 1817—1833.	Army under Pathan leaders mutinies; Regent beheaded	... 1817
	The day following murder of Tulsa Bai, Battle of Mehidpur	1817
	Treaty of Mandessôr concluded, January	... ... 1818
	Capital transferred from Rampura to Indore	... ... 1818
	An impostor personates Malhar Rao	... ... 1819
	Hari Rao Holkar attempts to seize the State	... ... 1819
	Disturbances occur on the Rampura frontier	... ... 1821
	Insurgents expelled from Fort of Barkhera by British force	1822
	Under agreement with Holkar and other Chiefs, British	
	Government assumes opium monopoly	... ... 1826
	Opium monopoly exchanged for transit duty	... ... 1829
	Begu Thakur from Udaipur expelled from district of	
	Nandwa	... ... ... ... 1829
	Malhar Rao dies at Indore, October 27th	... ... 1833

Martand Rao, 1834, Jan. 17th— April 17th.	MARTAND RAO installed Chief, 17th January	... ... 1834
	Hari Rao released from prison at Mahesar, February 2nd	... 1834

HARI RAO installed as Chief at Indore, April 17th ... 1834 Hari Rao,
Assault upon Palace for purpose of assassinating Chief and 1834-1843.

Minister, September 8th 1835
Hari Rao adopts Khandi Rao as heir, July 2nd 1841
Hari Rao dies at Indore, October 24th... ... 1843

KHANDI RAO HOLKAR installed as Chief at Indore, Novr. ... 1843 Khandi Rao,
Khandi Rao dies at Indore, February 17th 1844 1843, 1844.

Malharji Rao, son of Bhao Holkar, selected for the Chiefship Tukaji Rao
by the British Government 1844 II, 1844.

Malharji installed under title of JESWANT RAO SUT TUKAJI
RAO HOLKAR, June 1844

He attains his majority and is entrusted with administration 1852

His troops mutiny and attack the Residency. Resident
retires to Sehore 1857

He exchanges his Chandör Estate for certain British
districts 1861

He receives right of adoption 1862

He receives the Grand Cross of the Star of India on the
first institution of the Order 1862

Claim admitted to indemnity of three lakhs for levying
troops in 1857 1863

He is allowed to capitalise contribution to local corps ... 1865

Agrees to cede land for railway purposes 1865

Further exchange of territory between Government and
Holkar 1867

Holkar offers to lend a crore of rupees for construction of
Railway from Khandwa to Indore 1869

Governor-General Lord Northbrook visits Maharaja Holkar
at Indore, November 1875

Prince of Wales visits Maharaja Holkar at Indore, March 1876

Created Counsellor of Empress : salute (personal) increased
to 21 guns, January 1877

Governor of Bombay, Sir Richard Temple, visits Maharaja
Holkar at Indore 1878

Settlement of Khandeish frontier arrived at 1878

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF THE HOLKAR FAMILY.

MALHIBA HOLKAR, Deputy-Patel of the Village of Hall, in Phailan, Nimalkar.

Chief's Name.			Accession.	Death.
1. Malhar Rao I.	..	1731 .. 1765		
2. Mal Rao	..	1765 .. 1766		
3. Ahlia Bai	..	1766 .. 1795		
4. Tukaji Rao I.	..	1795 .. 1797		
5. Jeevant Rao	..	1798 .. 1811		
(Regency of Tulas Bai, 1808 .. 1817)				

Gopali.		
Bluawaji.		
Khandaji.		
Madhaji.		
Bhikaji.		
Santaji.		
Kashiba.		
Malhaji.		
Sevaji.		
Beraji.		
Tanaji.		
Malaji.		
Sevaji.		
Beraji.		
Tanaji.		
Malaji.		
IV.—TUKAJI, adopted by Ahlia Bai.		
Banaji.		
Malpat.		
Bappa.		

Chief's Name.			Accession.	Death.
6. Malhar Rao II.	..	1817 .. 1833		
7. Martaud Rao	..	1834 .. 1849		
8. Hari Rao	..	1834 .. 1843		
9. Khandi Rao	..	1843 .. 1844		
10. Tukaji Rao II.	..	1844 .. 1844		
Hejiji.				
Bapiji.				
Tukaji.				
Khandaji.				
Banaji.				
I.—MALHAR RAO HOLKAR, founder of the dynasty.				
Gobindaji.				
Gangaji.				
Hejiji.				
Boraji.				
Bakaji, alias Bapiji.				
Paraji.				
Buaji.				
Taka Ram.				
Chinno Appa Bolia.				
Gorvind Rao.				
VII.—MARTAUD RAO.				
adopted by Malhar Rao.				
Khandi Rao.				
VIII.—HARI RAO.				
VI.—MALHAR RAO.				
Sakha Bai.				
married Raja Bhuja Phansia.				
Chinno Appa Bolia.				
Gorvind Rao.				
VII.—MARTAUD RAO.				
adopted by Malhar Rao.				
Ithuba.				
Paraji.				
Buaji.				
Taka Ram.				
Genadari, alias Bhuja Holkar.				
Bapu.				
Genadari.				
Bapu.				
Sir Kasti Rao.				
Dada Sabub.				
K.C.S.I.				
X.—H.H. MAHARAJA SIR TUKAJI RAO HOLKAR, G.C.S.I.				
selected by British Government.				
Served in India.				
Retired 1858.				

Succession List of the Holkar Chiefs.

Chief.	Birth.	Accession.	Death.	Wives.	Ministers.
Malhar Rao I	1693	1731	1765	Gotama Bai (Hareka Bai.)	Gangadhar Jeswant, nominated by Baji Rao Peishwa.
Mali Rao	...	1765	1766	.....
Ahalia Bai	1735	1766	1795	.....	Govind Pant Gannu.
Tukaji Rao I	1725	1795	1797	Rukma Bai.	
Jeswant Rao	...	1798	1811	Lara Bai (put to death 1811). Kesaira Bai (died 1849) (long known as the Ma-Sahiba). (Tulsa Bai, Mis- tress.)	Ganpat Rao. Bala Ram Seth.
Tulsa Bai, Regent	1786	1808	1817	.....	Bala Ram Seth. Ganpat Rao.
Malhar Rao II	1805	1817	1833	Gotama Bai	Tantia Jogh. Ganesa Vital Jogh. Raoji Trimbak. Daiji Bakshi. Appa Rao Krishna.
Martand Rao	1830	1834	1849	.....	Madhu Rao Farnavise, in charge of affairs.
Hari Rao	1795	1834	1843	Hareka Bai (died 1846). Ghaina Bai.	Rivaji Phansia. Salik Ram Mantri, in charge of affairs. Appaji Bulal.
Khandi Rao	1828	1843	1844	Unmarried.	Narayan Rao Phalsikar.
Tukaji Rao II	1833	1844	...	Rukma Bai (died 1848). Bhagirathi Bai.* Radha Bai.† Parbatti Bai.	Ram Rao Narayan. Rao Ramchandra Rao. Sir Mahadeva Rao, Tan- jorkar, K.C.S.I. Raghunath Rao, Dewan Bahadur.

* Her Highness Bhagirathi Bai is the mother of Sevaji Rao, Bala Sahib, heir apparent.

† Her Highness Radha Bai is the mother of Jeswant Rao, Bala Sahib.

State Officials.*

		Names.	Official Designation.	Annual Income. Rs.
Hereditary Officers.	1	Ram Rao Nairayan ...	Dewan ...	8,400
	2	Balvant Rao Malbar ...	Farnavise ...	3,300
	3	Shripat Rao Trimbak ...	Secretary ...	3,000
	4	Mahadeva Rao Martand ...	Pagnaviso ...	1,200
	5	Krishna Rao Babu Rao ...	Pagnavise ...	1,200
	6	Ramkrishna Bahi Rao ...	Sabnavise ...	1,200
	7	Ramkrishna Nagesha ...	Holder of the Seals	360
Non-hereditary Officers.	Durbar Office.	1 R. Raghunath Rao, Dewan Bahadur.	Minister ...	24,000
		2 Khuman Singh ...	Member of Durbar	24,000
		3 Bhawan Singh ...	Secy., Mily. Dept.	.....
		4 Ram Chandra Vittal ...	Secy., Foreign Dept.	6,000
		5 Balvant Rao Vittal ...	Secy., Revenue Dept.	3,732
		6 Vinayak Rao Gopal ...	Secy., General Dept.	3,600
Military Department.	1	Bhawani Singh ...	Sirnaobat ...	7,200
	2	Sakharam Martand ...	Colonel of Infantry	3,900
	3	Khuman Singh ...	Bakshi ...	6,000
	4	Kasi Rao, Dada Sahib ...	Shagirdpeshá ...	6,008
	5	Bija Singh ...	Naib Police Supdt....	2,400

* The following were the High Officers and others, at the Court of Hari Rao Holkar, in 1840:—
 Officers.—Appaji Bulal, Minister; Missar Bhawani, Bakshi; Narayan Rao Baba Phulsikar, Seal Bearer; Sham Rao, Deputy Seal Bearer; Balwant Rao, Farnavise; Trimbak Rao Baba, Farnavise and Private Secretary; Jeswant Rao, Rainath; Sakha Ram; Imrat Rao, Rainath; Raghulia, Khabar Navise; Baba Fota, Confidential Secretary; Tantya Fota, Revenue Officer; Naghulia, Sikha Navise, Sealer of Records; Ram Krishna, Bhaiju, Sibra Navise, Keeper of the descriptive rolls of Silladars; Balwant Rao, Deputy Keeper of Rolls of Silladars; Ram Dival, Paymaster of Silladars; Biva Ram Doss, Writer; Ram Rao, Assistant Keeper of Silladar Records.

Servants.—Bala Naik, Chief Officer in Waiting; Rao Konji, Daffadar; Surat Singh, Khas-Bardar; Ganga Din, Khas-Burdar; Ganesa, Daffadar; Nan Khan, Jemadar of Farrashes; Taij Gi; Gussaini, Guru to Gotma Bai; Khoda Bnksh Kunwar; Gopal Naik, in attendance on the Muji; Balwant Rao; Madhu Rao; Isri Pershad, head of domestic servants, numbering 140.

—Papers Respecting Succession by Adoption, &c. (London, 1850.)

State Officials.

		Names.	Official Designation.	Annual Income. Rs.
	Revenue Department.	1 Lalji Ambaji 2 Savatram, Kotharí	Indore Subha ... Rampura Subha ...	3,960 •4,800
Non-hereditary Officers.	Judicial Department.	1 Dhandu Shamrao 2 A. Shriniwas Rao 3 Nago Bhikaji 4 Laxman Rao Yadeo 5 Raoji Balvant 6 Maulavi Mahomed Hussein 7 Hakimji	First Judge ... Indore Judge .. Rampura Judge ... Nimar Judge ... City Magistrate ... Nazim Adalat (1st) Nazim Adalat (2nd)	9,600 3,000 3,120 4,200 1,800 2,700 3,360
	Executive Officers.	1 Govindraoji 2 Wasudeo Mahadaji 3 Mr. J. J. Carey 4 Mr. B. Broome	Treasurer ... Customs officer ... Engineer-in-Chief ... Supdt., Cotton Mill	3,600 3,360 12,000 4,800
Naibs of the Hereditary Officers.		1 Wamon Rao Ramchandra 2 Malhar Vittal 3 Malhar Krishna 4 Sakharam Gopal	Naib Dewan ... Naib Khajaghi ... Naib Accountant ... Naib Secretary ...	2,700 1,080 1,200 1,200

Istamrardars and Tankadars of the Holkar State.

District.	Name of Landholder in 1849.	Village.	Rs.*	Total Rs.
Indore	Himmat Singh, Istamrар	Barria Dodhia Molia Malkhiri Amba	... ... ... ... ...	... ... ... ... ... 1,658
Depalpur	Miraji Mannu, Tanka- dar ... Gabhiji Kazi, Tankadar Mir Karras, Tankadar...	Satir Dadalpur Bassudhia Phulkararia Meindipur	480 580 180	1,240
Rampura	Gangadhur Shastri Brijall Harnath Mudli Singh, Thakur Anup Bharthi Shiraji, Thakur Kothari Rattan Chand... Antaji Pant Sheikh Azam Amir Singh Zorawar Singh, Bathe- mewala	Lassuria Jurwi Kuna Jagpura Shehta Jannaud Dudla Battisa Kanpura Dhabla Khurd Bhaddana	401 201 401 105 275 401 501 501 302 61 601	3,750
Antri	Zorawar Singh, Thakur Bhairu Singh, Thakur... Sheikh Ahmad A Brahman	Khajjuria Jalwa Debri Surwia Jeitli	1,801 2,995 413 45	5,254
Manasa	Tauj Singh, Thakur ... Bhairu Singh, Thakur... Bapuji Narayan	Malakhera Dangri Khurawad	1,801 1,200 501	3,502
Parda	Ajit Singh, Thakur ... The Bhatkferi, Thakur	Datauli Dhamnia	301 651	952

* Rampura rupees.

Istamrardars and Tankadars of the Holkar State.

District.	Name of Landholder in 1849.	Village.	Ram-pura Rs.	Total Rs.
Bhanpura ...	Brijlall Harnath ...	Gunjhar	51	
	Krishow Rao Bhaos ...	Mithurkheri	275	
	Jiwan Rao ...	Dhawat	101	
	Daji Gobind ...	Tornia	595	
	Thakur Dhankalji ...	Hamirpur	31	
	„ Dhiraji ...	Ansar	585	
	„ Fatteh Singh ...	Arnia	55	
	„ Partabji ...	Raipura	25	
	„ Nirji ...	Tusseh	425	
	„ Bhawani Singh	Barrodhia	300	2,443
Kharaoda ...	Thakur Sahib Singh ...	{ Rulaichi	1,351	
	„ Dhirap Singh ...	{ Akli Dudakheri	201	
	„ Lachman Singh	Balonda	1,401	
	Yaddu Rao Lakkar ...	Barrama	875	
	Malhar Ballal ...	Deoria	1,001	
	Thakur Singh ...	Daniakheri	401	
		Lakhmankheri	575	
				5,805
Chandwasa ...	Khuman Singh ...	Hattai	275	
	Lachmanji ...	Garra	426	
	Debi Singh ...	Phichla	2,001	
	(Brother of above) ...	Ghattia	51	
	Thakur Bairi Sal ...	Kurawan	3,902	
	„ Girwar Singh ...	{ Bhaggunia	1,102	
	Bappu Holkar ...	Pedheria	326	
	A Zamindar ...	Bhondia	401	
		Airi	...	
		Barria	1,501	
Narayangarh ...	Akli	...	501	
	Thakur Bijai Singh ...	{ Kangaiti	2,261	
		{ Kakrai	636	
		{ Kheira	818	
				3,715
Samer ...	Sarup Rai Kanungo ...	Ugamkheri	185	
	Gulab Rai ...	Suratkhera	151	
	Bhana Mall ...	Manurkheri	41	
				377

Istamrardars and Tankadars of the Holkar State.

District.	Name of Landholder in 1849.	Village.	Ram-pura Rs.	Total Rs.
Garaut	Chaudri Lachman ...	Chandkheri ...	251	
		Bilkheri ...	25	
		Kasrakheri ...	15	
		Kantharia ...	15	
		Kararia ...	15	
	Ambadass Ramchandra	Dhab ...	5	
		Barria ...	726	
	Malhar Ballal ...	Jamunia ...	201	
		Bisnia ...	251	
	Lakshmi Chandra ...	Gopalpura ...	55	
		Punwari ...	1,080	
Kunjarra	Thakur Dhiraji ...	Banjarri ...	401	
		Airia ...	425	
	" Lakhtaji ...	Thutia ...	75	
		Saguria ...	2,185	
	Chaudri Bherruji ...	Khajuria ...	2,766	
				8,766
	Kothari Siva Chandra ...			
Kunjarra	Thakur ...	Pala ...	30	30
Jamunia	Thakur Ran Singh ...	Lumbria ...		
		Chukni ...		
		Khiri ...		
		Duragapura ...		
		Tinsaunla ...		2,450
Zirapur	Thakur Suraj Mall ...	Gagroni, 24 villages	1,750	
		Dhatroda, 11 "	2,600	
		Jharman, 9 "	2,165	
		Rupahira, 3 "	671	
		Bagpura, 2 "	805	
		Khora Kheri, 2 "	521	
		Arnia ...	361	
		Sirpoi ...	361	
		Lachmanpura ...	413	
				9,647
Machalpur	Thakur Gulab Singh ...	Ramgarh ...	1,276	
		Rajpura ...	251	
		Bhimria ...	251	
		Lakhuri ...	1,376	
				3,154

Istamrardars and Tankadars of the Holkar State.

District.	Name of Landholder in 1849.	Village.	Ram-pura Rs.	Total Rs.
Sonei	Debi Singh and Nathuji Bhagguji and Suraj Mall Ghokarji and Nathu Ram Mandloji	Nalgaon Gundi Bhathkhera Chandrapura	151 151 35 35	372
Chikalda	Durjan Singh and Kalu Singh ... Hathey Singh, of Bar-khera ... Omkar Mandloji Thakur Moti Singh	Palwara Ukhaldha Umarbao Chhoti Jamunia Sao Kachor Makanda Chanki Khandlai Temria	450 130 18 18	616
Thandla Pitla-wad	Raja Gopal Singh, of Jhabbua ... Thakur Bakhtawar Singh, of Jhanaoda ... Umed Singh, of Umer-kola ... Tej Singh, of Korwar ... Mohan Singh, of Suranji ... Bairi Lal, of Jamli ... Pirthi Singh, of Raipura ... Omkar Singh, of Burlbel ... Gopal Singh ... Moti Singh ... Padham Singh ... Bhawani Singh ... Devi Singh ... Gosharu Harnath Gir ... Partab Singh ... Zorawar Singh	Khwassa, 12 villages Kalia Pira, 6 " Saroria, 6 " Kallianpura, 12 " 16 villages 8 " 8 " 5 " 12 " 6 " 3 " Ghogri " Kodli Baori Nagawa, 2 villages Udaipur Harkutia Baraita Gabri Karugarh Goduria Takai 5 other villages 12 villages of Boripura	2,223 438 417 1,145 3,101 1,480 1,193 966 966 1,065 523 122 103 205 193 158 63 294 101 150 38 1,141	16,085 80,312
		GRAND TOTAL...	...	

REVENUE AND POPULATION IN 1854 AND IN 1878.

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HOLKAR.

Town, Head-quarters of Parganna.	1854.			1878.					
	No. of Villages	No. of Houses.	Population	No. of Villages	No. of Houses.	Population			
Alampur	...	16	2,522	14,008	49,935	27	3,680	17,009	73,277
Barwai	9,372	23,176	115	3,369	16,898	35,600
Betman	...	44	2,408	....	53	2,457	9,387	52,691	...
Bhanpura	...	124	7,514	28,763	41,1926	127	5,616	22,390	1,01,440
Bijagach	...	20	13,311	65,294	92,776	1,142	22,338	98,434	2,95,630
Brahmangaon	...	20	412	1,814	1,300	32	742	3,502	7,322
Chandor	...	9	1,841	10,389	11,385	...	...	...	...
Chandwassa	...	42	2,040	9,349	11,060	52	2,869	9,562	65,680
Chauli	...	20	537	1,779	4,318	...	...	...	In Maheswar.
Chikaldas	...	121	3,371	15,367	21,225	204	5,968	22,644	52,699
Datanli Parda	...	22	1,269	5,646	37,798	...	...	...	In Manasa.
Depalpur	...	134	7,665	28,638	1,42,822	160	7,734	17,775	2,80,092
Garaut	...	107	5,829	21,824	1,45,901	148	7,861	27,471	18,012
Hesilpur	...	31	1,093	4,791	14,200	44	1,440	3,466	30,104
Hinglajgarh	...	7	1,392	5,683	17,625	...	...	...	In Bhanpura.
Indore	...	191	9,027	34,715	1,34,407	494	24,308	1,23,375	3,17,910
Jarra, Kunjara	...	43	1,499	6,741	23,679	...	...	...	...
Kaitha	...	20	2,286	7,091	49,042	32	2,421	7,624	42,265
Kantaphor	...	42	2,213	9,689	11,121	135	2,887	10,262	...
Katkut	...	15	220	970	24,984	60	...	...	373
Korkia	...	1	64	378	1,275	...	...	...	...
Liwani	204	5,968	22,644	32,699

1854.		1878.									
Town, Head-quarters of Parganna.	No. of Villages.	No. of Houses.	Population	No. of Villages.	Net Revenue.	No. of Houses.	Population	No. of Houses.	Net Revenue.	REMARKS.	
Machalpur	69	2,577	13,063	249	2,069	6,699	30,112	1,34,927			
Mahegar	24	4,286	14,762	6,299	136	6,671	27,342	24,883			
Manasa	39	2,140	9,167	46,471	118	8,395	23,413	1,35,633			
Mandiesar	...	...	...	...	33	...	...	34,650		
Mehidpur	217	1,513	59,388	2,34,000	245	14,134	64,813	3,16,466			
Negalwari	24	297	2,252	5,077	154	390	1,542	3,254			
Nandwai	27	486	2,390	4,299	28	962	4,234	11,711			
Narsayangarh	50	4,325	15,367	76,028	83	4,604	15,423	1,25,987			
Nimawar	69	5,019	21,043	14,625	288	16,318	34,399	2,78,752			
Pitlawad (Tandla)	52	3,320	10,736	37,000	333	2,286	8,700	46,081			
Raepur	24	2,038	6,309	25,417	32	1,823	6,333	30,049	G. Tr Sur. Sta.		
Rajaur	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	In Nimawar Panchmahal.	
Rampura	140	6,303	29,729	1,27,175	270	9,014	34,201	1,49,900			
Samer	88	4,884	15,365	79,625	122	4,308	18,898	1,61,426			
Sindhabra	8	1,183	6,245	24,816	107	3,789	14,788	....		
Sundarsi	10	1,234	4,029	46,518	124	777	3,018	16,193			
Sunel	31	4,167	9,824	75,500	57	3,599	17,006	1,08,298			
{Kothri	20	1,879	7,174	7,174	...	...	...	...
Talea Lataheri	2	556	2,439	1,641	2	987	2,670	2,386			
Tarana	154	8,278	33,844	2,00,079	175	6,357	29,207	1,99,899			
Wabgaon	9	2,489	15,452	5,000	....	....	....	....
Zirspur	67	2,329	15,227	48,159	....	....	....	....
									Exchanged British Govt.		
									In Machhalpur.		

POPULATION, &c. *

Colonel Mead's Report for 1866-67.

REVENUE.

Hali Rupees.

HOLKAR.

175

Year.	Total.	Land.	Customs.	Abkari.	Tribute.	Stampa.	Fines.	Cotton Mill.	Interest.	Post Office.	Mint.	Miscel- laneous.	Authority.
1765	75,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Malcolm,
*1817	450,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Agra Guide and Gazetteer,
1826	27,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	I.I., 176.
1834	9,25,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Agra Guide and Gazetteer,
†1845	23,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	II, 175.
1854	21,34,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Narrative of Events, Sir R.
1865	24,65,408	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Col. Meade's Supplement,
1866	32,00,000	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Administration Report,
1867	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	1865-66
1868	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	Col. Meade's Report, 1866-67.
1869	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1870	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1871	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1872	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..	..
1873	49,22,000	33,07,900	6,10,000	1,15,000	1,58,000	50,000	76,000	22,000	2,33,000	..	26,000	..	Sir Mahadeva Rao's Report,
*1874	50,00,000	33,87,900	6,37,000	1,17,000	1,58,000	48,000	54,000	71,000	3,20,000	4,000	4,000	2,08,000	Raghunath Rao's Report,
1875	45,98,000	30,95,000	5,26,000	1,17,000	1,46,000	67,000	70,000	75,000	3,74,000	5,000	8,000	1,03,000	I.I., 175.
1876	49,23,000	31,51,000	4,00,000	1,00,000	1,49,000	78,000	63,000	3,07,600	5,25,030	4,400	2,400	1,43,200	Raghunath Rao's Report,
1877	48,06,010	27,99,000	4,16,000	1,19,000	1,59,000	61,000	61,000	† ..	9,62,000	4,000	12,000	2,1,000	Raghunath Rao's Report,
1878	51,23,000	30,72,000	4,76,000	1,21,000	1,37,000	53,000	61,000	..	5,03,000	6,000	25,000	2,67,000	† 1877-78.

* In Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan*, the following estimate of the value of the territories prior to the Treaty of Mandeswar will be found in Vol. I., p. 750 (1820).—North of the Nerbada—Bundi, Rs. 1,25,000; Malwa, Rs. 5,1,00,000; Bhinpur, Rs. 2,22,000; Narayangarh, Rs. 60,000; Ghatiwar Khan's assignment, Rs. 3,81,000; about the City of Indore, R. 3,95,000; Narsinghpur and Mansur, Rs. 55,000; total Rs. 17,80,000. South of the Nerbada—Khardeo's Batteli, Rs. 40,000; Moran and Shivapur, Rs. 20,000; Samor, Rs. 25,000; Nandbar, Rs. 70,000; Alinayron, Rs. 5,000; Alawar, Rs. 10,000; Sandagaon, Rs. 8,000; Dhangwar, near Chandore, Rs. 20,000; Umar, Rs. 60,000; total, Rs. 3,52,000. Grand total, Rs. 21,72,250.

† Approximate estimate.

The Cotton Mill has been transferred to the Khasgi Dept. The receipts under the head were, in 1873, Rs. 3,27,000.

EXPENDITURE.

Hali Rupees.

	1873.	1874.	1875.	1876.	1877.	1878.
Palace ...	6,75,000	10,20,000	8,53,000	8,43,000	6,93,000	6,01,000
Civil Establishment	9,89,000	7,09,000	6,98,000	7,24,000	6,67,000	7,40,000
Police	1,34,000	5,03,000	5,36,000	5,46,000	...	...
Courts	20,000	79,000	59,000	55,000	65,000	61,000
Jails ...	28,000	22,000	23,000	22,000	25,000	37,000
Army ...	12,28,000	*8,54,000	8,24,000	8,24,000	†14,52,000	†15,12,000
Education ...	27,000	28,000	30,000	34,000	38,000	38,000
Public works ...	2,31,000	1,50,000	3,67,000	4,78,000	2,81,000	‡4,15,000
Hospitals ...	12,000	12,000	16,000	16,000	13,000	12,000
Post Offices ...	4,000	14,000	14,000	14,000	13,000	15,000
Survey ...	35,000	20,000	19,000	22,000	21,000	9,000
Pensions ...	8,000	9,000	35,000	34,000	34,000	15,010
Religious grants ...	31,000	33,000	36,000	30,000	32,000	38,000
Charities ...	72,000	1,13,000	77,000	39,000	35,000	§61,000
Railway ...	11,04,000	11,00,000	...	...	...	...
Capitalization of contingent contribution ...	2,38,000	2,38,000	2,38,000	1,19,000	1,19,000	1,19,000
Cotton Mill ...	1,42,000	1,87,000	74,000	2,01,000	...	...
Remission ...	2,03,000	2,61,000	80,000	1,14,000	1,12,000	§4,23,000
Miscellaneous ...	1,81,000	1,43,000	73,000	89,000	61,000	70,000
Total ...	53,12,000	54,95,000	40,51,000	42,04,000	36,61,000	41,66,000

* 1,824 horses and 1,066 men were transferred to the police.

† Army and police.

‡ Famine relief works.

§ Famine.

HOLKAR'S TERRITORIES.	Total number of houses or families.		Families of the civil community.	Families of the military and predatory tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children twelve years and under.	Total population.
	Hindu.	Mahomedan.						
Pargana of Mehidpur, containing 23 inhabited towns and villages	10,191	253	7,496	2,948	15,018	14,181	14,902	44,101
Ditto of Machalpur, 66 ditto	2,214	56	1,725	545	4,253	3,782	4,127	12,162
Ditto of Paepur, 21 ditto	1,480	7	897	640	2,399	2,204	1,880	5,458
Ditto of Depalpur, 139 ditto	8,159	365	6,983	1,541	10,874	11,412	12,024	34,310
Ditto of Zirahpur, 64 ditto	2,631	31	11,089	984	4,333	3,607	4,133	12,073
Ditto of Hasilpur, 17 ditto	637	61	4,655	233	841	857	840	2,658
Ditto of Sonel, 26 ditto	1,941	124	1,622	443	2,644	2,671	3,156	8,471
Ditto of Samer, 108 ditto	5,381	218	4,273	1,826	7,407	7,724	7,733	22,894
Ditto of Sundurse, 11 ditto	1,268	115	939	444	1,825	1,730	1,861	5,416
Ditto of Betman, 42 ditto	1,872	159	1,349	632	2,637	2,544	2,406	7,617
Ditto of Indore, 185 ditto	12,582	607	10,187	2,902	13,723	13,772	13,966	41,461
City of Indore, Holkar's Capital	3,577	658	3,590	645	...	...	...	63,560
Holkar's Camp and Court computed at	...	...	...	...	...	...	...	20,000
Pargana of Kaytha, villages	22	1,412	49	1,035	426	2,250	2,203	2,165
Ditto of Nandwae, 23 ditto	...	429	1	284	146	777	639	522
Ditto of Sindhara, 8 ditto	1,197	11	1,014	194	1,817	1,657	1,639	1,338
Ditto of Bhanpura, 49 ditto	3,064	209	2,617	656	4,576	4,431	4,399	13,406
Ditto of Tarana, 141 ditto	6,361	216	4,421	2,156	8,442	8,315	9,414	26,171
Ditto of Rampa, 364 ditto	17,489	763	14,018	4,333	25,400	24,745	23,344	73,489
Ditto of Narayangarh, 49 do.	3,162	46	2,131	1,076	4,858	4,328	3,391	12,577
Ditto of Kakkut, 12 ditto	148	3	72	79	149	149	178	486

HOLKAR'S TERRITORIES.		Total number of houses or families.	Hindu.	Mahomedan.	Families of the civil community.	Families of the military and predatory tribes.	Men.	Women.	Children twelve years and under.	Total population.
Pargana of Mehidpur, containing 14 villages and towns	3,520	336	4	3,464	3,284	412	3,806	4,395	3,285	11,486
Ditto of Chulv, 5 ditto	369					89	477	626	433	1,436
Sirkar Bijgarh, called also Battissi from containing 32 Parganas, viz.:										
Pargana of Kargon, 56 villages	3,898									
Ditto of Chainpur, 29 ditto...	565	380		3,775	498	5,976	6,804	6,312	19,092	
Ditto of Balwanah, 29 ditto.	931	89	8	520	353	742	681	778	2,201	
Ditto of Biswah, 35 ditto...	736	31		760	210	1,337	1,314	1,294	3,975	
Ditto of Mahomedpur, 27 do.	1,178	52		441	326	1,033	909	876	2,818	
Ditto of Mundanah, 11 ditto.	376	85		1,026	204	1,646	1,778	1,896	5,320	
Ditto of Umiatoh, 8 ditto ...	175	...	94	233	178	574	654	440	1,548	
Ditto of Wan, 13 ditto ...	416	5		91	81	247	283	279	769	
Ditto of Jelabadi, 32 ditto...	1,285	16		297	124	577	567	566	1,710	
Ditto of Bikangraum, 15 do.	420	6		770	531	1,642	1,628	1,655	4,925	
Ditto of Negulwari, 6 ditto	268	...		259	167	639	653	657	1,649	
Ditto of Berub, 11 ditto ...	167	3		125	143	333	331	301	965	
Ditto of Bannalah, 4 ditto ...	180	1		39	131	228	219	229	676	
Ditto of Brahmangon, 12 do.	146	...		74	107	234	225	249	708	
Ditto of Khurong, 8 ditto	163	4		68	78	190	169	168	527	
Ditto of Rassiaipur, 6 ditto	157	5		126	41	200	192	173	565	
Ditto of Sangli, 3 ditto ...	147	...		103	59	232	230	187	669	
Ditto of Akharpur, 1 ditto ...	18	...	14	66	81	172	177	220	669	
Ditto of Naudsi, 3 ditto ...	67	2		25	4	27	20	16	63	
Ditto of Seresghar, 3 ditto ...	79	...		26	41	87	79	70	236	
Ditto of Akaiapurah, 11 ditto	255	14		208	54	107	93	85	285	
Ditto of Baugdurah, 7 ditto	429	5		345	61	355	298	283	936	
Pani Mahal, viz.:-					89	516	637	446	1,499	
Nimawar, 24 villages										
Rafour, 24 ditto	...				28	822	261	1,447	1,645	4,497
Kantapur, 30 ditto	2,153	64		20	1,638	746	3,031	3,015	3,492	9,538
Hariangaon, 16 ditto	490	24		1,340	677	2,727	2,704	2,629	8,700	8,691
									610	1,957

Table exhibiting the Restoration of Villages in the Territory of Holkar. (Malcolm.)*

Districts.	Khalsa Villages.	Villages inhabited in 1817.	Villages restored in 1818.	Villages restored in 1819.	Villages restored in 1820.	Balance uninhabited Villages.
Rampura	658	417	80	38	73	50
Mandraj	24	23	...	...	...	1
Narayangarh	50	50	...	...	...	...
Sandhara	12	12	...	...	...	...
Sunel	28	20	4	4	...	...
Raipur	23	23	...	...	...	...
Zirapur	75	44	16	15	...	...
Machalpur	71	44	13	14	...	...
Tarana	172	156	...	16	...	...
Kaitha	21	13	3	5	...	...
Kothri	21	20	4	...	...	...
Jawar	112	97	15	...	...	...
Mehidpur	232	225	4	3	...	2
Depalpur	148	136	10	...	...	1
Indore	354	248	5	25	45	3
Betman	42	31	6	5	...	5
Katkut	84	...	...	9	60	16
Ranilpur	31	17	4	4	...	...
Alampur	25	25	...	...	...	...
Sundarsi, <i>viz.</i> :—						
Sindia's Territory	}	10	10	...	...	...
Puar's ditto						
Holkar's ditto						
Kasba						
Cholé Shahain, <i>viz.</i> :—						
Shahain	}	81	33	5	24	5
Cholé						
Bagdanna						
Karrai						
Nimawar	...	260 $\frac{1}{2}$	71 $\frac{1}{2}$	23	64	75
Bijaghar, <i>viz.</i> :—	}	1,140	299	77	117	250
Bijaghar						
Baraud						
Agalwarra						
Sindwa						
Brahmangaon						
Narayangarh, <i>viz.</i> :—						
Sehori	}	1 $\frac{1}{2}$	...	...	...	...
Talen						
Chandör						
Agar Diola						
Kailwara Kola	...	1	1	...	...	...
Wabgaon	...	9	9	...	...	...
Total	...	3,701	2,038	269	343	508
						543

* This Table shows only the Khalsa, or Government Villages. Those assigned in Jagir and in charitable grants are not included. The latter are computed in Holkar's territories at 253; and have no doubt been restored in the same proportion as the Khalsa lands.—Malcolm.

GAZETTEER.

The Holkar State.

Alampur. **ALAMPUR.**—A town and parganna in Bundelkhand, with 27 villages and a revenue of Rs. 73,277.

Barwai, **Malcolm's In-** **DEX.** **BARWAI.**—A ruinous town of about 150 houses in the Province of Nimar. It is the head of a parganna of the same name, rented by Sindia to one Umeid Singh. This parganna formerly yielded a revenue of Rs. 70,000, at which period it had twenty villages. At present (1824) its revenue amounts to little more than Rs. 23,000; and it has scarcely thirty inhabited villages. The town is situated about a mile north of the Narbadda and 32 miles east of Mahesar. It is the residence of the Manager, Kandu Pant Tantia, who is restoring it to its former condition. The lands about it are extremely fertile. The Chered River runs within two miles. It is believed it might be made to yield a revenue of a lakh and-a-half.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm)* (1824).

It was transferred to Holkar in 1867, with Dhargaon, Khasrawada, and Mandlesar.

Bhanpura, **Malcolm's In-** **DEX.** **BHANPURA.**—A good large city containing about 4,000 houses. It is situated on the Rewa River, and is a qasba of seventy inhabited, seven uninhabited, and two inam villages; belongs to Malhar Rao Holkar; in the Parganna of Rampura. The Fort of Bhanpura has never been finished; the walls are well built of stone, and there is a fine palace in the inside, which is also unfinished; both of these were commenced by Jeswant Rao Holkar, of whom there is a beautiful cut marble statue in the palace; and on the walls and gateway are several figures of animals of various descriptions. The city is surrounded by a wall, and the houses inside are in good repair. It is situated in north

latitude $24^{\circ} 30' 45''$, and east longitude $75^{\circ} 50'$. The qasba contains 3,273 houses, and its population is estimated at 13,408 souls. The market held at Bhanpura is on Friday, and is frequented by the people of the neighbouring villages.—*Index to Malcolm's Map.*

A considerable town situated on the Rewa River, 1,344 feet above the level of the sea. The Fort of Bhanpura has never been finished, but the walls are well built, and there is a fine palace inside also unfinished, begun by Jeswant Rao Holkar, of whom it contains a statue sculptured in marble. In 1820 the number of houses was estimated at 4,000; mostly in tolerable repair.—*Malcolm's Central India, II*, 480 (1822).

Bhanpura is the second district in importance, and is fast improving. A beautiful mausoleum (chattri) of white marble is here built over the ashes of the celebrated Jeswant Rao Holkar, who died in Camp at Bhanpura on the 20th of October, 1811. The Ma-Sahiba, widow of Jeswant Rao, has spared no expense or trouble in completing this edifice, which she has very liberally endowed. A largo establishment is kept up, and food is daily dressed and served before the marble image of Jeswant Rao; after which it is distributed to the poor. The image is carefully preserved, dressed, and anointed, and all the forms and ceremonies of state punctually performed.—*Hamilton's Narrative* (1854).

Col. Tod writes:—Two miles through jungle brought us to the abrupt crest of the Pathar. For some distance the route was over a neck, or chine, with deep perpendicular dells on each side, which, at its extremity, the point of descent, termed the ghât, became a valley gradually expanding until we reached Bhanpura. At the ghât are the remains of a very ancient fortress, named Indôrgarh, which must have been one of the strongholds of this region long anterior to the Chandrawat feudatories of Mewar. Some fragments of sculpture indicate the presence of the artist of Barolli; but all search for inscriptions was fruitless.

Bhanpura,
Malcolm's
Central India.

Bhanpura,
Hamilton's
Narrative.

Bhanpura,
Tod's Rajas-
than.

The Mausoleum of Jeswant Rao.

From hence we saw the well-defined skirts of the plateau, stretching westward by Rampura to the Lassan Ghât, Tarapur, and Jawad. As we approached Bhanpura, we crossed a small rivulet, called the Rewa, coming from the glen of the ghât; near which is the mausoleum of Jeswant Rao Holkar, adjoining the scene of his greatest glory, when he drove an English army from his territory. The architecture is worthy of the barbarian Mahratta; it is a vaulted building, erected upon a terrace, all of hewn stone; its only merit is its solidity. There is a statue of this intrepid chieftain, of the natural size, in the usual ungraceful sitting posture, with his little turban; but it gives but a mean idea of the man who made terms with Lake at the altars of Alexander. It is enclosed by a miniature and regularly built fortress, with bastions, the interior of which are hollow and colonnaded, serving as a dharmasala, or place of halt for pilgrims or travellers; and on the terrace are a few *reklas* or swivels. On the right of the temple, destined to receive the effigy of Jeswant, is a smaller cenotaph to the memory of his sister, who died shortly after him. The gateway leading into this castellated tomb has apartments at top, and at the entrance is a handsome piece of brass ordnance, called Kali, or death. There is a temporary building on the right of the gateway, where prayers are recited all day long for the soul of Jeswant Rao, before an altar, on which were placed twenty-four *devas*, or lamps, always burning. A figure dressed in white was on the altar; immediately behind which, painted on the wall, was Jeswant Rao himself, and, as in the days of his glory, mounted on his favourite war horse Mowa. The chaori was waving over his head, and silver-mace bearers were attending, while the officiating priests, seated on carpets, pronounced their incantations.

Jeswant Rao's charger.

I left the master to visit Mowa, whose stall is close to the mausoleum of Holkar, whom he bore in many a desperate strife. The noble animal seemed to possess all

his master's aversion to a Faranghi, and when having requested his clothing to be removed, I went up to examine him, he at first backed his ears and showed fight; but at last permitted me to rub his fine forehead. Mowa is a chesnut of the famed Bimrat'hala breed; like his master, a genuine native of Maharashtra. He exhibits the framework of a perfect horse, though under 14, 3. His forelegs show what he has gone through. His head is a model, exhibiting the highest quality of blood: ears small and pointed, eye full and protruding, and a mouth that could drink out of a tea-cup. He is in very good condition; but I put in my *arzi* that they would provide more ample and sweeter bedding, which was readily promised. The favourite elephant is a pensioner, as well as Mowa.—

Bhanpura is a town of 5,000 houses, surrounded by ^{The town, Tod.} a wall in good order. The inhabitants are, apparently, well contented with the mild administration of Tantia Jogh, the present Dewan of Holkar's Court; but they are all alive to the conviction that this tranquillity is due to the supervising power alone. I was greatly gratified by a visit from the respectable community of Bhanpura, merchants, bankers, and artizans, headed by the hakim in person; nor could the inhabitants of my own country, Mewar, evince more kind and courteous feeling. In fact, they have not forgotten the old tie, that the ^{The Rao of} _{Bhanpura} Rao of Bhanpura, though now holding but a small portion of his inheritance, was one of the chief nobles of Mewar and even still receives the *telak* of accession for Amad from the hands of his ancient Lord, though nearly a century has elapsed since Holkar became his sovereign *de facto*; but associations here are all powerful.—*Rajasthan, Vol. II, 660 (1819).*

BIJAGARH.—A large hill-fort among the Satpura hills; Bijagarh, in ancient times the capital of the Province of Nimar. ^{Malcolm's} _{Central India.} North latitude $21^{\circ} 36'$, and east longitude $75^{\circ} 30'$. The modern district of Bijagarh has taken its name from this

fortress, which, however, has long been neglected, and Khar-gôn is now considered the principal town, being the residence of Holkar's Manager. With the exception of the small district of Barwani, the Sirkar of Bijagarh comprises nearly the whole of Southern Nimar. In 1796 it yielded a revenue of Rs. 1,50,000; but in 1820, only Rs. 50,000.—*Malcolm's Central India, II, 482.**

Chandwasa,
Malcolm's In-
dex.

CHANDWASA.—A small town in Malwa, much fallen to decay; it is head of a parganna of the same name, which contains 40 villages, and belongs to Malhar Rao Holkar's district or Sirkar of Rampura. Here is a *haut*, or market, held every Tuesday. It is 18 miles south of Rampura and $11\frac{1}{2}$ north-west of Dalpat.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

The caves of
Dhumnar,
Tod's
Rajasthan.

The hill of Dhumnar, near Chandwasa, is between 2 and 3 miles in circumference. To the north it is bluff, of gradual ascent, and about 140 feet in height, the summit presenting a bold, perpendicular scarp, about 30 feet high. The top is flat and covered with *bar* trees. On the south side it has the form of a horse-shoe, or irregular crescent, the horns of which are turning to the south, having the same bold natural rampart running round its crest, pierced through with caves, of which I counted 170. I should rather say that these were merely the entrances to the temples and extensive habitations of these ancient troglodytes. The rock is a cellular iron clay, so indurated and compact as to take a polish. There are traces of a city, external as well as internal, but whether they were contemporaneous we cannot conjecture. If we judge from the remains of a wall, about 9 feet thick, of Cyclopean formation, being composed of large oblong masses without cement, we might incline to that opinion, and suppose that the caves were for the monastic inhabitants, did they not afford proof to the contrary in their extent and appropriation.

An external
city.

On reaching the scarp, we wound round its base until we arrived at an opening cut through it from top to bottom, which proved to be the entrance to a gallery of about one hundred yards in length, and nearly four in breadth, terminating in a quadrangular court, measuring about one hundred feet by seventy, and about thirty-five feet in height: in short, an immense square cavity, hollowed out of the rock, in the centre of which, cut, in like manner, out of one single mass of stone, is the temple of the four-armed divinity, Chatarbhuj. Exclusive of this gallery, there is a staircase cut in the north-west angle of the excavation, by which there is an ascent to the summit of this rock, on a level with which is the pinnacle of the temple. Apparently without any soil, some of the finest trees I ever saw, chiefly the sacred pipal, banyan, and tamarind are to be found here.

The ground plan of the temple is of the usual form, having a *mindra*, *mandap*, and portico, to which the well-known term *pagoda* is given, and there is a simplicity as well as a solidity both in the design and execution. The columns, entablatures, with a good show of ornament, are distinct in their details; and there are many statues, besides flowers, not in bad taste, especially the carved ceilings. It would be regarded as a curiosity if found on a plain and put together in the ordinary manner; but when it is considered that all is from one block, and that the material is so little calculated to display the artists' skill, the work is stupendous

Vishnu, who is here adored as the *four-armed*, was placed upon an altar, clad in robes of his favourite colour (*pandu*, or yellow ochre), whence one of his titles Pandurang. The principal shrine is surrounded by the inferior divinities in the following order: first, on entering are the *poleas* or porters; Ganesa is upon the right, close to whom is Sarasvati, whose throne is upon the tongue; and on the left are the twin sons of Kali, the Bhirus, distinguished as *kala*, the black, and *gora*, the fair; a

The sculptured figures.

little in advance of these is a shrine containing five of the ten *Mahabedias*, or ministering agents of Kali, each known by his symbol, or *vahan*, as the bull, man, elephant, buffalo, and peacock. The *Mahebedias* are all evil genii, invoked in *jap*, or incantations, against an enemy; and phylacteries, containing formulas addressed to them, are bound round the arms of warriors in battle.

Sculptured figures.

At the back of the chief temple are three shrines; the central one contains a statue of Narayana, upon his hydra-couch, with Lakshmi at his feet. Two *daitis*, or evil spirits, appear in conflict close to her; and a second figure represents her in a running posture looking back in great alarm at the combatants. Smaller figures about Narayana represent the heavenly choristers administering to his repose, playing on various instruments, at the sound of which a serpent appears, rearing his crest with delight. The minor temples, like the larger ones, are also hewn out of the rock; but the statues they contain are from the quartz rock of the Pathar, and they therefore appear incongruous with the other parts. In fact, from an emblem of Mahadeva which rises out of the threshold, and upon which the four-armed Vishnu looks down, I infer that these temples were originally dedicated to the creative power.

View from the temple.

We proceeded by the steps, cut laterally in the rock, to the south side, where we enjoyed through the opening an unlimited range of vision over the plains beyond the Chambal, even to Mandessôr and Sondwarra. Descending some rude steps, and turning to the left, we entered a cavern, the roof of which was supported by one of these singularly-shaped columns, named after the sacred mounts of the Jains; and here it is necessary to mention a curious fact, that while everything on one side is Buddhist or Jain, on the other all is Sivite or Vishnuvite.

Next to and communicating by a passage with this hall of the Jains is the most extensive excavation of Dhumnar, locally designated as Bhim's Bazaar. The extreme length of this excavation is about a hundred feet, and the breadth

The two-fold character of the temples.

Bhim's Bazaar.

eighty. Although the name of this leader of the Pandus designates every sub-division of this cave, yet everything is Buddhist.

But it is impossible, and the attempt would be tedious, to give by any written description an adequate idea of the subterranean town of Dhumnar. It is an object, however, which will assist in illustrating the subject of cave-worship in India; and although in grandeur these caves cannot compare with those of Ellora, Karli, and Salsette, yet in point of antiquity they evidently surpass them. The Jain temple is a rude specimen of the art of a rude age; yet is there a boldness of delineation, as well as great originality of design, which distinguishes it from everything else in India.—*Rajasthan, Vol. II, p. 660.*

CHIKALDA.—A small town on the north bank of the Chikalda, Narbadda River, containing about 300 houses, enclosed by a mud wall, with a small ruinous *gharri* at its eastern extremity. It is the head of a parganna of the same name belonging to Holkar, situated 14 miles 3 furlongs south-east of Kuksi, and $2\frac{3}{4}$ nearly west of Bankanir. Its former revenue was Rs. 25,000, but at present (1824) it only produces Rs. 500—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm)*.

DEPALPUR.—A town in Malwa, containing 1,035 houses and 3,844 souls. It is the head of a parganna of the same name, which belongs to Holkar, and has 7,489 houses inhabited, and a population of 30,466 souls. In 1814 the revenue was estimated at Rs. 60,000; in 1818, at Rs. 1,00,000. In former times it yielded a still greater revenue. In 1796 the revenue amounted to Rs. 1,50,000. It is situated 24 miles N. W. by W. of Indore, and $22\frac{1}{2}$ N. E. by N. of Dhar. It has a large tank on the eastern side: and there are roads leading from it to Barnagar, Ujjain, Dhar, Indore, and other places.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm)*.

Depalpur is a troublesome district from the wild and independent character of many of its tenantry. It possesses one of the largest artificial lakes in Malwa, which

Depalpur,
Hamilton's
Narrative.

causes the opium, wheat, gram, and rice crops to be more certain than elsewhere.—*Hamilton's Narrative of Events.*

Garaut,
Malcolm's
Index.

GARAUT.—A small town in Malwa on the left bank of the Rupni River, capital of a parganna of the same name, which belongs to Holkar's Rampura District or Sirkar. The town contains about 500 houses and 25,000 souls; the parganna contains 128 villages, four of which belong to Narsing Raja, and the rest to Malhar Rao Holkar. There is a market held every Wednesday at the capital. It is situated S. W. by S. of Bhanpura, $15\frac{1}{2}$ miles, and its revenue may amount to Rs. 20,000 or Rs. 25,000.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

Garaut, Tod's
Rajasthan.

Garaut is a thriving town of 1,200 houses, the chief of a *tappa*, or sub-division of Rampura, whence a deputy hakim is sent as Resident Manager. It is walled in; but the inhabitants seemed to feel that they had now a better security than walls. Here there is nothing antique: but Moli, halfway between Bhanpura and Garaut, has a fine sculptured *toran* yet standing and fragments strewed in every direction. Tradition is almost mute, and all I could learn was that it was the abode of a king called Satal-Patal, whom they carried back to the era of the Pandus. I was much surprised to find the plain strewed with agates and cornelians of every variety of tint and shape, both veined and plain, semi-transparent and opaque, many stalactitic, in various degrees of hardness, still containing the fibre of grass or root, serving as a nucleus for the concretion. There are no hills to account for these products in the black loam of the plains, unless the Chambal should have burst his bed and inundated them.—*Rajasthan, Vol. II, 660.*

Hasilpur.
Malcolm's
Index.

HASILPUR.—A town containing 300 houses, situated on the Chambal, within a few miles of its source. It is the capital of a parganna belonging to Malhar Rao Holkar, which formerly produced a revenue of Rs. 12,000 annually, but now only Rs. 1,000 from the desolate state of its villages.

It is 11 miles 4 furlongs nearly south-west of Mhow.—
Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).

HINGLAJGARH.—A celebrated fortress, 85 miles north of Hinglajgarh, Ujjain. North latitude $24^{\circ} 23'$, east longitude $75^{\circ} 57'$. Hamilton's Narrative. This is a place of great natural strength, deeply seated in dense jungle on the edge of a precipitous ravine. No other fastness can give a better idea of a Pindarry retreat. It is accessible only on one side, and that by a well-protected approach. Here State prisoners and criminals sentenced to imprisonment for life are confined. The fort is now deserted and gone entirely to decay. The climate is so deadly that no one will remain there in the months of November and December.—*Hamilton's Narrative of Events.*

Hinglajgarh was carried by assault by Colonel Monson on the 2nd of July, 1804. Near Hinglajgarh is the celebrated Fountain of the Snake King. Colonel Tod thus describes his visit to it:—

In the evening I went to visit *Takhaji-ka Kund*, or The Fountain of the Snake King; it is about two miles east of of the Snake King. Tod's Naoli (a comfortable village, having the remains of a Rajasthan. fort to the west of it); the road through a jungle, over the flat highland of Pathar, presents no indication of the object of research, until you suddenly find yourself on the brink of a precipice, nearly two hundred feet in depth, crowded with noble trees, on which the knotted *koru* was conspicuous. The descent to this glen was over masses of rock; and about halfway down, on a small platform, are two shrines, one containing the statue of Takshac, the Snake King; the other of Dhunantara, the Physician, who was produced at the churning of the ocean. The *kund*, or fountain, at the southern extremity of the abyss, is about 200 yards in circumference and termed *a' thig*, or unfathomable, according to my guide, and if we may judge from its dark sea-green lustre, it must be of considerable depth. It is filled by a cascade of full 100 feet perpendicular height, under which is a stone seat, sacred to the genius of the spot.

At the west side issues a rivulet, called the *Takhaili*, or serpentine, which, after pursuing a winding course for many miles, some hundred feet below the surface of the Pathar, washes the eastern face of Hinglajgarh, and ultimately joins the Amjar.

Indore,
Malcolm's
Central India.

INDORE (*Indura*, a rat).—A city on the River Katki, in latitude $22^{\circ} 42'$ north, and longitude $75^{\circ} 50'$ east. It is the residence of Malhar Rao Holkar, and the capital of a district which takes its name. As a city, it is but small and of moderate date. The former capital of the district previous to the Mahratta invasion was Kampail (18 miles south-east of Indore) which has dwindled to a village. That part of the city called Juna Indore, or old Indore, was a village, the site of which having pleased Ahalia Bai, who encamped here after the death of Malhar Rao I, she directed the Amaldar of the district to remove there from Kampail; and she built a new city on the opposite bank of the Katki (*Kan*), a small but clear stream. Her partiality for Indore raised it to a state of great prosperity, though she continued through life to give the preference, to her own residence, to the more sacred city of Mahesar. In 1820 the district of Indore contained, exclusive of the city, 10,786 houses and 41,462 inhabitants. In 1796 the revenue amounted to Rs. 2,50,000; in 1814 to only Rs. 50,000; which, since the treaty of Mandessôr, has increased to Rs. 90,000.—*Malcolm's Central India*.

Indore,
Compiler.

The revenue is now (1878) Rs. 3,17,900. The Court of Holkar was transferred from Rampura to Indore in 1818. Indore is at the present day a large and flourishing city. The spacious palace with its lofty, many-storied gateway is conspicuous from every point. The Lall Bagh, with its pleasant summer palace and interesting collection of animals; the mint;* the proscribed arsenal; the admirable high school; the market place; the reading-room; the neatly-built dispensary; the large and prosperous cotton mill; and the many beautiful *chattries* are the chief

* *Malcolm's Account of Central India, Mintz*, II., 81.

objects of interest. To the west of the city is an antelope preserve, where *chita* hunting may be enjoyed. The railway station is about a mile from the palace. The Residency, where the Agent to the Governor-General lives, is a handsome and substantial stone house situated in a beautiful park, with an extensive garden through which the river flows. A company of European troops is accommodated in a range of spacious barracks. There are altogether about twenty small bungalows occupied by the Agent's staff and other Government servants. The Residency College, where the young chiefs of Malwa are educated, stands near the bazaar, which has recently sprung up within Residency jurisdiction.

JAM.—A town of Holkar's in the Indore Parganna, *Jam*, containing only 50 inhabited houses, 32 miles 1 furlong Malcolm's Index. south of Indore. To the north-east is a well-built stone *gharri*, with one good gateway on the north face, which was given by Holkar, in 1818, at the request of Sir J. Malcolm, to the British Government, and formed into a dépôt for the force stationed at Mhow, from whence it is distant about 16 miles. It was afterwards restored to Holkar. The ghât is $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles in length and very steep, and from the sharp turns in it, never can be used as a road for wheeled carriages of any description. Moti Jam was formerly a large town, but now consists of a few huts. It is about $14\frac{1}{2}$ miles south and 5 miles east of Jam. The Moti Jam ghât is at present (1824) impracticable, but could be made passable for all wheeled carriages without much labour.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

KAITHA.—A town in Malwa containing 420 houses, *Kaitha*, situated on the Chhota Kali Sind River; it was formerly Malcolm's Index. a large place, and is at present the capital of a parganna, which takes its name, and contains 17 inhabited villages, and, including the town, 1,128 families. Kaitha situated $7\frac{1}{2}$ miles nearly S. by W. of Tarana, $16\frac{1}{2}$ miles NNW. of Dewas.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

Katkut,
Malcolm's
Central
India.

KATKUT.—This was formerly a town of 2,000 houses; but has in recent times so greatly declined that in 1820 it only contained 75. It stands on an elevated spot, and a nala in the vicinity always contains water, and has good camping ground on its right bank. In 1800 there were 50 iron smelting furnaces, but in 1820 only two remained, employing about 52 men, women, and children. The ore is produced from near the deserted village of Mandakheri, eight miles to the north-west, and yields about 25 per cent of malleable iron.—*Malcolm's Central India, II, 500.*

Machalpur
Malcolm's
Index.

MACHALPUR.—A well-built town in Kilchipur, and is the head of a parganna of 56 villages of the same name; the town contains 420 houses and nearly 2,000 inhabitants. Malhar Rao Holkar derives from it a revenue of nearly Rs. 30,000. It bears N. W. from the town of Rajghar, and nearly north of the town of Ajar.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

Mahesar,
Malcolm's
Central
India.

MAHESAR* (*Mahesh Asura*).—This ancient city must be considered the principal and almost only place of note in Nimar. It is pleasantly situated on the northern bank of the Narbadda, with a fort elevated above the town, and has long been, as well as its attached lands, accounted a distinct portion of territory, probably from having been under the immediate management of the head of the Holkar family, when it was their capital. That honor which it formerly derived from being the residence of Ahalia Bai, is now given to it as containing the ashes of that great and venerated woman. Public buildings of different kinds are being erected, and a most spacious and highly finished flight of stone steps from the town to the river, meant with adjoining temples to be dedicated to her memory, is nearly completed.—*Malcolm's Central India, I, 15.*

In 1820 it contained 3,500 houses and a well-supplied bazaar. The fort is large and full of houses, but in bad repair. Cholé was formerly the head-quarters of the district, but since Ahalia Bai fixed her residence here, Mahesar

has assumed that rank. Latitude $22^{\circ} 11'$ north, longitude $75^{\circ} 31'$ east.—*Malcolm's Central India, II*, 503.

MANASA.—A considerable town, which in 1820 contained ^{Manasa,} 1,030 houses and a good bazaar. Latitude $24^{\circ} 29'$ north, ^{Malcolm's} longitude $75^{\circ} 15'$ east; 1,440 feet above the level of the sea. ^{Central} India. It belongs to Holkar, and is the head of 56 villages in the Rampura Parganna.—*Malcolm's Central India, II*, 504.

MANDLESAR.—A small town situated on the north bank ^{Mandlesar,} of the Narbadda, which in 1820 contained 394 houses. ^{Malcolm's} Latitude $22^{\circ} 12'$ north, longitude $45^{\circ} 30'$ east. The surround- ^{Central} India. ing country is elevated 696 feet above the level of the sea, and is 1,632 feet below the Jam Ghât of Malwa. The town is surrounded by a mud wall, and has a small well-built fort of masonry. A small British cantonment is situated close to the town on the west. Mandlesar belongs to the British Government.—*Malcolm's Central India, II*, 505.

Mandlesar was transferred to Holkar in 1867, in part exchange for his domains in the Deckan.

MEHIDPUR.—A large town containing 348 houses and 1,339 inhabitants, with a good bazaar situated on the right bank of the Kshipra river. It is the head of a parganna having six *qasbas*, containing 213 villages belonging to Holkar, and is the residence of Bhao, one of the chiefs of Holkar. The fort is situated on a high bank of the Kshipra. The wall is *pakka*, without any ditch, and a part on the north side has never been finished. The place is now famed for the battle fought near it on the 21st December, 1817, about half a mile to the south-west of the fort and on the north bank of the Kshipra. A revenue of Rs. 1,39,340 is realised in this parganna. Holkar's Contingent Horse, commanded by Captain Borthwick, is stationed here to protect the neighbouring villages from the ravages of Thakurs and *Grassias*. Latitude $23^{\circ} 29'$ north, longitude $75^{\circ} 45'$ east.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm)*.

Mehidpur has always been among the best managed and most productive of the Holkar possessions, and when the adjoining parganna of Gangrar (now with Jhalra Patan) ^{Mehidpur,} ^{Hamilton's} ^{Narrative,}

was held by Holkar, the two formed a rich and fertile tract of country. After the battle of Mehidpur, Gāngrar was ceded to Kōta in satisfaction of some money claims of Zalim Singh.—*Hamilton's Narrative of Events*.

A regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, the Mehidpur Contingent, is now stationed in this pleasant little cantonment. It is about equidistant from Jaora on the north-west and Agar on the north-east, the distance being some forty miles.

NAGALWARI.—A village of 76 houses and 231 inhabitants, in the Khargōn Parganna, belonging to Holkar. It is the head of a kasba of five villages. It is about 14 miles 3 furlongs from Sindwa by road, bearing N.N.E. from it.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm)*.

NAGALWARI, CHHOTI.—A small village of 40 houses, in the Khargōn Parganna, belonging to Holkar. It is 14 miles 7 furlongs from Sindwa, north of Nagalwari.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm)*.

NIMAWAR.—A town of 300 houses, situated on the right bank of the Narbadda, opposite to Hindia. It is the head of a parganna belonging to Holkar. It is 98 miles 6 furlongs from Ujjain, and 40 miles from Unchaud.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm)*.

Chitu, the famous Pindarry leader, made Nimawar for a time his head-quarters. Here the Dassahra of 1815 was celebrated by a greater concourse of these freebooters than had ever been assembled before in one place. Shortly afterwards immense detachments crossed the Narbadda, pursuing a southerly course; and after desolating many districts in the Deckan, returned to Nimawar heavily laden with booty, having sustained hardly any loss.

In 1861 Holkar agreed to exchange his Chandōr estate in the Ahmednagar District for the British share in the territory of Satwas Nimawar; and in May of that year 231 villages in Nimawar, with a revenue of Rs. 28,872, were made over to him.

PITLAWAD.—A large town, situated near a stream, in latitude $23^{\circ} 40' N.$, and longitude $74^{\circ} 50'$. It is the

Nagalwari,
Malcolm's
Index.

Chhota
Nagalwari,
Malcolm's
Index.

Nagalwar,
Malcolm's
Index.

Pitlawad,
Malcolm's
Index.

head of a parganna. It is 26 miles south-west of Rutlam.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

RAEPUR.—This is a small parganna on the borders of Raepur. Jhalra Patan.

RAMPURA.—A town of 4,000 houses, with a good bazaar, ^{Rampura,} the head of a district of the same name, situated on the ^{Malcolm's} north bank of the Taloyi River, about a mile distant. It ^{Index.} has 500 villages, and is the head of the following kasbas and pargannas,—Bhanpura, Garaut, Chandwasa, Karanda, Antri, Manasa, Parda, Kanjarra, Jainunia, Jarra, and Sanjit; this last parganna was made over to Nawab Ghaffur Khan. Rampura yields a revenue of nearly three lakhs and seventy thousand rupees annually. A fair is held on every Monday, and supplies of all kinds may be had. There is a Hindu temple situated to the north-east of the town, where a *jatra* takes place in the month of April, and is visited by the Hindus of Malwa. Rampura lies in N. latitude $24^{\circ} 27'$, and E. longitude $75^{\circ} 32'$. Its observed elevation appears to be 1,360 feet above the sea. The Chittor range of mountains, which runs on the north of this town, forms one of the boundaries of Malwa.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

Rampura is a most important district, and most difficult to manage, being on the frontier and liable to depredations from Minas and plunderers from Mewar and Partabgarh. The old palace is now dilapidated, but it must have been a commodious and excellent dwelling in old days when occupied by the Chandrawat, before that Rajput Chief was conquered by Holkar. The Chandrawat's descendants still live in a large house here, and consider themselves the principal people in those parts, being averse to acknowledge the supremacy of Holkar. Rampura is famous for its swords and other arms. It is situated close to the Chittor range of hills, which makes it very hot. The water is not good. There is a temple in the city of some note.—*Hamilton's Narrative of Events.*

Samer,
Malcolm's
Index.

SAMER.—A town of 869 houses, with a good bazaar, situated on the west bank of the Khaond River, at the confluence of this and the Gatti. It is the head of a parganna of 108 villages, with a population of 3,266 inhabitants and a revenue of Rs. 27,600. It belongs to Holkar. By road it is 16 miles 2 furlongs distant from Ujjain, and 18 miles 3 furlongs from Indore.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

Semrôl,
Malcolm's
Index.

SEMRÔL.—A town of 200 houses, situated on a nala three miles north of the ghât. The ghât is now one of the principal roads from Malwa to the Deckan by the Raviere ford, Asirgarh, and Burhanpur. It is excellent for wheeled carriages, and has a fine camping ground halfway. At the siege of Asirgarh all the heavy train of artillery was carried over this ghât to Nimir.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).* This beautiful road, winding down to the banks of the Choral through luxuriant vegetation, is now little used, as the railway passes through the mountains by another defile at a distance of a few miles. The Prince of Wales drove through the Semrôl ghât in going to, and coming from, Indore.

Sunel,
Malcolm's
Central
India.

SUNEL.—A small town in Malwa, which, in 1820, contained 4,000 inhabitants. Latitude $24^{\circ} 23'$ N. ; longitude $76^{\circ} 3'$ E. It is the head of a parganna of 32 villages belonging to Holkar, but is only surrounded by a slight wall. In 1820 both town and district were in a flourishing state.—*Malcolm's Central India, II, 515.*

Talen
Latatheri,
Malcolm's
Index.

TALEN LATAHÈRI.—A small town of 200 houses, with a few shops, on the left bank of the Ubal River, in the Narsinghar Parganna ; belongs to Holkar. Eleven miles by road from Shujaulpur.—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

Tarana,
Malcolm's
Index.

TARANA.—A town of 2,000 houses with a good bazaar, is the kasba of a parganna of 20 villages ; distant by road 20 miles S. W. from Ashta.”—*Index to the Map of Malwa (Malcolm).*

Wun,
Malcolm's
Central
India.

WUN.—A decayed town belonging to Holkar, in Malwa, which in 1820 contained only 113 houses. Latitude $21^{\circ} 50'$ N. ; longitude $75^{\circ} 32'$ E. ; 10 miles from Khargon. This was formerly a large city, but is at present chiefly remarkable for the numerous vestiges of Jain temples, said

once to have amounted to 99 ; at present the remains of more than 20 may be distinctly traced, some in tolerable preservation. From the inscriptions already discovered at Wun it appears to be a place of great antiquity. They bear a date about the middle of the second century of the Christian era. The specimens of sculpture which have been brought from Wun are perhaps superior to any of modern workmanship in India, and prove that art to have been in an advanced state at a very remote period.—*Malcolm's Central India, II*, 516.

A legend of Wun.

Mr. Carey, Chief Engineer, Indore State, has kindly given me the following legend, which was communicated to him at Wun by an old inhabitant of the place :—“ Fifteen hundred years ago this was a great city of 10,000 houses and about 40,000 inhabitants. It was built by Raja Bullal, who, when making a pilgrimage to Benares, was taken ill here. A female serpent was in his belly, and he was sick unto death. At night a serpent came and spoke to the one lodged in the Raja’s body, saying—‘ Why do you kill so pious and good a Raja ? ’ The female serpent retorted—‘ Why do you find fault with me ? Have you not secreted a vast treasure in the earth ? If some one would only pour boiling oil into the hole from which you issue, he would get your hoard and make some use of it.’ The serpent answered—‘ If some one would only administer a dose of fresh-burnt lime to the Raja you would die and he would live.’ Now the Rani who was lying awake, watching her sick lord, overheard this altercation ; and on the following morning taking the advice of both the nagas, obtained the treasure, and restored to health her husband, the female serpent leaving his body piece by piece. With the riches thus obtained the king and queen built 99 temples, 99 tanks, and 99 wells in about six months. The Raja hoped to find here a second Benares, and they say that only one temple, one tank, and one well were wanting to make Wun equal far-famed Kasi. But the works were never completed, only one temple was finished, and the rest were left without spires (*kala*). The Raja left the city, and it declined from that date.”

TREATIES.

Treaty of peace and amity between the BRITISH GOVERNMENT and JESWANT RAO HOLKAR, with the Declaratory Article annexed. 1805.*

Preamble.

Whereas disagreement has arisen between the British Government and Jeswant Rao Holkar, and it is now the desire of both parties to restore mutual harmony and concord, the following articles of agreement are therefore concluded between Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm on the part of the Honorable Company, and Sheikh Habib Ulla and Bala Ram Séth on the part of Jeswant Rao Holkar, the said Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm having especial authority for that purpose from the Right Honorable Lord Lake, Commander-in-Chief, &c., His Lordship aforesaid being invested with full powers and authority from the Honorable Sir George Hilaro Barlow, Governor-General, &c., &c., and the said Sheikh Habib Ulla and Bala Ram, Seth also duly invested with full powers on the part of Jeswant Rao Holkar.

ARTICLE I.

Hostilities
end.

The British Government engages to abstain from the prosecution of hostilities against Jeswant Rao Holkar, and to consider him henceforward as the friend of the Honorable Company, Jeswant Rao Holkar agreeing, on his part, to abstain from all measures and proceedings of an hostile nature against the British Government and its allies, and from all measures and proceedings in any manner directed to the injury of the British Government or its allies.

* At the conclusion of the third Mahratta war.

ARTICLE II.*

Jeswant Rao Holkar hereby renounces all right and title Holkar cedes to the Districts of Tonk, Rampura, Bundi, Lakeri, Samey- territories. di, Brahmangaon, Dase, and other places north of the Bundi hills, and now in the occupation of the British Government.

ARTICLE III.

The Honorable Company hereby engages to have no Confirmed. concern with the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in ancient family possessions. Mewar, Malwa, and Harraoti, or with any of the Rajas situated to the south of the Chambal; and the Honorable Company agrees to deliver over immediately to Jeswant Rao Holkar such of the ancient possessions of the Holkar family in the Deckan, now in the occupation of the Honorable Company, as are situated south of the River Tapti, with the exception of the Fort and Parganna of Chanderi, the Pargannas of Ambar and Sengham, and the villages and pargannas situated to the southward of the River Godaveri, which will remain in possession of the Honorable Company. The Honorable Company, however, in consideration of the respectability of the Holkar family, further engages that, in the event of the conduct of Jeswant Rao Holkar being such as to satisfy the State of his amicable and peaceable intentions towards the British Government and its allies, it will, at the expiration of eighteen months from the date of this treaty, restore to the family of Holkar the Fort of Chanderi and its districts, the Pargannas of Ambar and Sengham, and the districts formerly belonging to the Holkar family, situated to the south of the Godaveri.

ARTICLE IV.

Jeswant Rao Holkar renounces all claims to the District Kunch ce- of Kunch in the Province of Bundelkhand and all claims ded and of every description in that province; but in the event of granted to Bima Bai in the conduct of Jeswant Rao Holkar being such as to jagir. satisfy the British Government of his amicable intentions

* This article was rescinded by the declaratory article.

towards that State and its allies, the Honorable Company agrees, at the expiration of two years from the date of this treaty, to give the District of Kunch in jagir to Bima Bai,* the daughter of Jeswant Rao Holkar, to be holden under the Company's government on the same terms as that now enjoyed by Bala Bai.

ARTICLE V.

Holkar renounces all claims on British Government.

Jeswant Rao Holkar hereby renounces all claims of every description upon the British Government and its allies.

ARTICLE VI.

Holkar will not employ Europeans without permission.

Jeswant Rao Holkar hereby engages never to entertain in his service Europeans of any description, whether British subjects or others, without the consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE VII.

Sirji Rao Ghatkia proscribed.

Jeswant Rao Holkar hereby engages not to admit into his council or service Sirji Rao Ghatkia,† as that individual has been proclaimed an enemy to the British Government.

ARTICLE VIII.

Holkar will retire peacefully by a defined route to Hindustan.

Upon the foregoing conditions, Jeswant Rao Holkar shall be permitted to return to Hindustan without being molested by the British Government, and the British Government will not interfere in any manner in the affairs in the concerns of Jeswant Rao Holkar. It is however stipulated that Jeswant Rao Holkar shall, immediately upon the treaty being signed and ratified, proceed towards Hindustan by a route which leaves the towns of Pattiala, Kaithal,

* Bima Bai, daughter of Jeswant Rao Holkar, married to Govind Bolia, died in 1858, when Kunch reverted to the British Government.

† The infamous Sirji Rao Ghatkia's daughter, Baizi Bai, was married to Daulat Rao Sindia. Cf. article 10 of treaty concluded in 1805 with Daulat Rao Sindia (Aitchison, Vol. III., p. 290, xcix): "As Sirji Rao Ghatkia has acted in a manner calculated to disturb the friendship between the two States, the Maharaja agrees never to admit that Chief to share in his councils, or to hold any public employment under his government."

Jhind, and the countries of the Honorable Company and the Raja of Jaipur on the left; and Jeswant Rao Holkar engages on his route to make his troops abstain from plunder, and that they shall commit no act of hostility in any of the countries through which they may pass.

ARTICLE IX.

This treaty, consisting of nine articles, being this day settled by Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm on the part of the Honorable Company, and by Sheikh Habib Ulla and Bala Ram, Seth, on the part of Jeswant Rao Holkar, The treaty to be duly ratified and delivered within a specified period.

Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in Persian and English, signed and sealed by himself and confirmed by the seal and signature of the Right Honorable Lord Lake, to the said Sheikh Habib Ulla and Bala Ram, Seth, who, on their part, have delivered to Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm a counterpart of the same signed and sealed by themselves, and engage to deliver another copy thereof duly ratified by Jeswant Rao Holkar, to the Right Honorable Lord Lake in the space of three days; the said Lieutenant-Colonel John Malcolm also engaging to deliver to them a counterpart of the same duly ratified by the Honorable the Governor-General in Council within the space of one month from this date.

Done in Camp at Rajpur Ghât, on the banks of the Bias River, this 24th day of December, A. D. 1805, corresponding with the 2nd of Shawul in the year of the Hegira 1220.

(Sd.) JOHN MALCOLM.

(Sd.) SHEIKH HABIB ULLA.

(Sd.) BALA RAM, SETH.

Declaratory articles. Declaratory Articles annexed to the Treaty of Peace and Amity concluded between the *British Government* and *Maharaja Jeswant Rao Holkar*, through the agency of the *Right Honorable Lord Lake*, on the 24th December, 1805.

Article II rescinded. Whereas by the second article of the above-mentioned treaty *Maharaja Jeswant Rao Holkar* renounces all right and title to the Districts of *Tonk*, *Rampura*, *Bundi*, *Lakheri*, *Sameydi*, *Brahmangaon*, *Dase*, and other places north of the *Bundi* hills, and now in the occupation of the *British Government*; and whereas it has been understood that the *Maharaja* attaches great value to the Districts of *Tonk*, *Rampura*, and other districts in that vicinity, which constituted the ancient possessions of the *Holkar family*, and the relations of amity and peace being now happily restored between the *British Government* and *Maharaja Jeswant Rao Holkar*, the *British Government* is desirous of gratifying the wishes of the *Maharaja* to the utmost practicable extent, consistent with considerations of equity, and of manifesting its solicitude to cultivate the friendship and good-will of the *Maharaja*, therefore the *British Government* hereby agrees to consider the provisions of the second article of the treaty aforesaid to be void and of no effect, and to relinquish all claim to the Districts of *Tonk*, *Rampura*, and such other districts in their vicinity as were formerly in the possession of the *Holkar family* and are now in the occupation of the *British Government*.

Done on the River Ganges, the 2nd day of February, 1806.

(Sd.) G. H. BARLOW.

THE TREATY OF MANDESSOR.*

Treaty of peace between THE HONORABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY AND HIS HIGHNESS MAHARAJA MALHAR RAO ^{contracting parties.} HOLKAR, *his heirs and successors, settled by BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR JOHN MALCOLM, K.C.B. AND K.L.S., POLITICAL AGENT FOR THE MOST NOBLE THE GOVERNOR-GENERAL, on the part of THE HONORABLE EAST INDIA COMPANY, and TANTIA JOGH on the part of HIS HIGHNESS MALHAR RAO HOLKAR, the said BRIGADIER-GENERAL SIR JOHN MALCOLM acting under authority from HIS EXCELLENCY LIEUTENANT-GENERAL SIR THOMAS HISLOP, BARONET, COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF OF THE ARMY OF FORT ST. GEORGE, and of the army in the DECKAN, himself invested with full power and authority from the MOST NOBLE FRANCIS, MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, K.G., one of HIS BRITANNIC MAJESTY'S MOST HONORABLE PRIVY COUNCIL, GOVERNOR-GENERAL IN COUNCIL, appointed by THE HONORABLE COMPANY to direct and control all the affairs in the EAST INDIES, and the said TANTIA JOGH duly invested with full power on the part of HIS HIGHNESS MALHAR RAO HOLKAR.*

ARTICLE I.

Peace being established with the Maharaja Malhar Rao Protection Holkar, the Company's Government agrees that it will not ^{guaranteed.} permit any State or any freebooter to be unpunished that shall commit any outrage or hostility against the territories of Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar; the Maharaja agreeing on such occasions to lend his utmost assistance by the employment of his troops, or in any other manner as may be requisite, and the British Government will at all times extend the same protection to the territories of Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar as to its own.

ARTICLE II.

Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar agrees to confirm the Holkar con- engagement which has been made by the British Govern- firms Amir Khan in ment with the Nawab Amir Khan, and to renounce all territories guaranteed by British.

engagement by the British Government to the Nawab Amir Khan and his heirs.

ARTICLE III.

Provision for Zalim Singh of Kota. The Pargannas of Pachpahar, Dag, Gangrar, Awär, and others rented by Raja Zalim Singh of Kôta,* to be ceded in perpetuity to that chief by the Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, who renounces all claims whatever on these pargannas.

ARTICLE IV.

Holkar cedes all feudal claims on chiefs of Rajputana. Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar agrees to cede to the British Government all claims of tribute and revenues of every description which he has, or may have had, upon the Rajput Princes, such as the Rajas of Udaipur, Jaipur, Jôdhpur, Kôta, Bundi, Karauli, etc.

ARTICLE V.

Holkar renounces claims on domains in and north of the Bundi hills. Malhar Rao Holkar renounces all right and title to any of his territories, as Rampura, Bassant, Rajpura, Ballia, Nimserai, Indeghar, Bundi, Lakheri, Sameydi, Brahmangaon, Dase, and other places within, or north of the Bundi hills.

ARTICLE VI.

Cedes all territory in and south of the Satpuras and in Khandeish. Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar cedes to the British Government all his territories and claims of every description whatever within and south of the Satpura range of hills, including the Fort of Sendhwa, with a glacis of two thousand yards, also all his possessions in the province of Khandeish and those districts, such as Ambar, Ellora, and others, intermixed with the territories of the Nizam and Peishwa.

ARTICLE VII.

British Government guarantees internal tranquillity of Holkar territory. In consideration of the cessions made by this treaty, the British Government binds itself to support a field force† to maintain the internal tranquillity of the territories of Malhar Rao Holkar, and to defend them from foreign enemies; this force shall be of such strength as shall be judged adequate to the object. It shall be stationed where the British Government determines to be best, and the

* In 1838 Kôta was dismembered and the districts assigned to the heirs of Zalim Singh now forms the State of Jhallawar.

† This force was, and is still, stationed at Mhow.

Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar agrees to grant some place of security as a dépôt* for its stores. .

ARTICLE VIII.

The Maharaja grants full permission for the purchase of Holkar per-supplies of every description for any British force acting in the defence of his territories. Grain and all other articles of consumption and provisions, and all sorts of materials for wearing apparel, together with the necessary number of cattle, horses, and camels required for the use of such force, shall be exempted from duties.

ARTICLE IX.

Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar engages never to commit any act of hostility or aggression against any of the Honorable Company's allies or dependants, or against any other power or State whatever. In the event of differences arising, whatever adjustment the Company's Government, weighing matters in the scale of truth and justice, may determine, shall have the Maharaja's entire acquiescence. The Maharaja agrees not to send or receive vakils from any other State, or to have communication with any other States, except with the knowledge and consent of the British Resident.

ARTICLE X.

The British Government hereby declares that it has no manner of concern with any of the Maharaja's children, relatives, dependants, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom the Maharaja is absolute.

ARTICLE XI.

The Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar agrees to discharge his superfluous troops, and not to keep a larger force than his revenues will afford. He however agrees to retain in service, ready to co-operate with the British troops,† a

* Jam was granted for this purpose, but restored subsequently.

† The United Malwa Contingent mutinied in 1857, and was pronounced extinct in February, 1858. In 1865 Holkar was permitted to capitalise his contributions towards the Mehidpur Contingent and Malwa Bhil Corps. The former is represented by a regiment of Bombay N. I., the cost of which is borne by the States of Indore, Dewas, and Jaora.

body of not less than three thousand horses, for whose regular payment a suitable arrangement must be made.

ARTICLE XII.

The State of Jaora guarantees the engagement to grant to Nawab Ghaffur Khan his present jaidad of the Districts of Sajit, Malhargarh, Taul, Mandawal, Jaora, Barrode; the tribute of Piploda, with the sayer* of the whole. These districts shall descend to his heirs on the condition that the said Nawab and his heirs shall maintain, independent of the sebandit for his pargannas, and his personal attendants in constant readiness for service, a body of six hundred select horse; and further, that this quota of troops shall be hereafter increased in proportion to the increasing revenue of the districts granted to him.

ARTICLE XIII.

Holkar will not entertain in his service Europeans or Americans of any description without the consent of Government.

Malhar Rao Holkar engages never to entertain in his service Europeans or Americans of any description without the knowledge and consent of the British Government.

ARTICLE XIV.

A Minister will reside at the Court of Holkar. In order to maintain and improve the relations of amity and peace hereby established, it is agreed that an accredited Minister from the British Government shall reside with the Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, and that the latter shall be at liberty to send a vakil to the Most Noble the Governor-General.

ARTICLE XV.

Cessions of territory will take effect from date of this treaty. All the cessions made by this treaty to the British Government or its allies shall take effect from the date of this treaty, and the Maharaja relinquishes all claims to arrears from the cessions. The possessions lately conquered by the British Government shall be restored to the Maharaja.

* Customs.

† Armed police force to assist in the collection of revenue.

The parwanas for the mutual delivery of these cessions shall be issued without delay, and the forts ceded shall be given up with their military stores and in all respects in their present condition.

ARTICLE XVI.

The English Government engages that it will never permit the Peishwa (Sri Mant), nor any of his heirs and descendants, to claim or exercise any sovereign rights or power whatever over the Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, his heirs and descendants.

The British Govt. will not permit Peishwa to exercise sovereign rights over the Holkar Chiefs.

ARTICLE XVII.

This treaty, consisting of seventeen articles, has been this day settled by Brigadier-General Sir John Malcolm, acting under the direction of His Excellency Lieutenant-General Sir Thomas Hislop, Baronet, on the part of the Honorable Company, and by Tantia Jogh, on the part of Malhar Rao Holkar; Sir John Malcolm has delivered one copy thereof in English and Persian signed and sealed by himself, to the said Tantia Jogh to be forwarded to Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, and has received from the said Tantia Jogh a counterpart of the said treaty signed and sealed by him.

Sir John Malcolm engages that a copy of the said treaty, ratified by the Most Noble the Governor-General, in every respect a counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Tantia Jogh, to be forwarded to the Maharaja, within the period of one month, and on the delivery of such copy to the Maharaja, the treaty executed by Sir John Malcolm under the immediate direction of His Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop, Baronet, shall be returned; and Tantia Jogh in like manner engages that another copy of the said treaty, ratified by the Maharaja Malhar Rao Holkar, in every respect the counterpart of the treaty now executed by himself, shall be delivered to Sir John Malcolm, to be forwarded to the Most Noble the Governor-General, within the space of two days from this date, and on the

delivery of such copy to the Most Noble the Governor-General, the treaty executed by Tantia Jogh by virtue of the full powers and authority vested in him as above-mentioned shall also be returned.

Done at Mandessör, this sixth day of January, A. D. one thousand eight hundred and eighteen, on the twenty-ninth day of Shaffar in the year of the Hegira 1233.



(Sd.) JOHN MALCOLM, *Brigadier-General,
P. A., Governor-General.*



(Sd.) VITTAL PANT TANTIA JOGH.



(Sd.) HASTINGS.

Ratified by His Excellency the Governor-General in Camp at Uchar this sixteenth day of January, 1818.

(Sd.) J. ADAM,
Secretary to the Governor-General.

APPENDIX.

THE INDORE CURRENCY.

ONE of the sovereign rights possessed by His Highness The sovereign Maharaja Holkar, is that of coining the currency of his own ^{right of coining} money. State, and this privilege is exercised to the fullest extent.

The mint of His Highness is an exceedingly primitive institution. It would be difficult to imagine the application of simpler or more inexpensive means to so important an end. Yet the division of labour is well arranged, and the results, in regard both to accuracy and speed, are such as would surprise any one familiar only with the elaborate machinery of the Mints of London, Bombay, or Calcutta. Moreover, in justice to the Maharaja, it should be remembered that the coinage of England was manufactured in precisely the same way as that of Indore still is, down to the time of the Restoration, and that such coins continued in circulation concurrently with others of an improved construction until the year 1696. The Indore Mint is contained in an ordinary dwelling-house in one of the business streets of the city, and it contains no machinery of any description. All the various processes of coining are effected by hand. The only plant in the establishment of the smallest value are the dies, and a few hammers, and pairs of scales.

The inexpensive materials of mud and clay form very prominent agents in the different processes and arrangements. In the centre of the floor of the first room is a trough of clay about two feet in diameter. Round the edge of this is placed a row of bricks standing on end and bound together by an iron chain. These form the melting furnace and crucible. In this furnace are placed about 240 lbs. (Troy) of China sycee or English bar silver at a time, together with the necessary weight of copper alloy, which, in the case of the Indore rupee, is one-sixteenth for silver of 100 touch. There is no preliminary assay of silver brought for The process.

coinage. The spaces are then filled up with charcoal, and the process of melting begins. The furnace is fanned by four large hand-bellows attached to four clay pipes, placed at equal distances round the top of the furnace. The silver, when melted, is poured from a ladle into clay moulds, which form strips of about the size of a flat stick of sealing-wax, but of an irregular shape, as the moulds seem to have been rudely formed with the point of the finger. These are carried into the coining room, where one stick is selected, and a tola's weight cut from it for the purpose of assay by the refiner. This is effected by the ordinary process of cupellation, and consists in melting the alloy and gradually adding to it one and a quarter times its weight of lead which, by the application of air and extreme heat, becomes oxidised, and separates the copper from the silver. If the pure silver then remaining weighs 15 annas, the test is pronounced satisfactory and the whole produce of the 255 pounds of standard silver is made over to another set of workmen, who cut the strips into pieces of the approximate weight of one rupee. These are counted and passed on to the silver-smiths, who work within enclosures placed all round the room and separated by low mud walls. Each of these compartments accommodates three weighers and one smith, with an attendant upon the latter. In front of the smith is an anvil, and a small mud forge. The weighers balance each square of silver, chipping off a portion if it is overweight, or inserting a small wedge into an incision made with a chisel if it is light. These squares are then brought to a red heat in the forge and flattened and rounded on the anvil by hammering. There is afterwards a final weighment, and the planchets, having become discolored from heating, have their whiteness restored by dipping in a decoction of tamarinds. The final process is that of stamping, which is effected by laying the discs of silver on a steel die, shaped like a small anvil, and embedded in the ground, and placing upon them the other die in form of a punch. This latter is then struck once with a heavy hammer, and the inscription on both sides is complete. The coins are never struck of the full size of the die, and they, therefore, bear only part of the inscription in Persian "Shah Allam Badshah," together with an image of the sun, the emblem of the Indore State.

The legend.

When the Mint is in full operation there are about 125 men Workmen employed in the various processes, and the daily out-turn of coin ^{employed.} The out-turn. can be brought up to Rs. 25,000. From 15 to 25 lakhs of rupees are coined annually. The purity and weight of the coin have been very fairly maintained, notwithstanding the apparent absence of effective State superintendence and the temptation to which the officials must frequently be exposed to depart from the standard. An assay of the Indore currency was made in 1832 at the Calcutta Mint, and published in a pamphlet issued by the Asiatic Society in 1840, which gave the equivalent of Rs. 100 as British Rs. 98·674. A private assay obtained from the Bombay Assay made in Mint in 1870 gave British Rs. 97·99 as the corresponding value. ^{1870.}

The weights were as follows:—

	Weight in Grains.	Grains of pure Silver.
1832	... 172·90	162·81
1870	... 172·70	161·69

One hundred Indore rupees are in weight equal to only 96 Government rupees, owing to the superior purity of the former, which contains but $\frac{1}{8}$ th of alloy, as against $\frac{1}{4}$ th in the British rupee. Formerly the Maharaja's mint was opened only when silver was presented by a trader or banker for coinage, but in the early part of 1877, the State Treasury began to import bullion on its own account, and since then it has assumed a virtual monopoly of coinage operations, as the mint has been almost constantly employed upon silver sent from the Treasury. The native merchants point out that the exchange profit derived from buying Exchange. silver with British coin in Bombay, and converting it into Indore currency, has thus been absorbed by the State in addition to the seigniorage to which only it is entitled. When silver is coined for private individuals, the seigniorage charged is Re. 1-2-6 per cent., of which part used occasionally to be remitted, to induce the merchants to import silver. From this sum the State has to expend 6½ annas per cent. for remuneration to the various officials, artisans, and labourers, and for charcoal. The only other expenses to the merchant are Re. 1-1-0 per cent. for loss of silver in melting, and one anna per cent. for copper. The cost of the Mint to the State is exceedingly small, as the only salaried officials, permanently entertained, are two accountants receiving together Rs. 45 a month. The Assay Master, as well as the

subordinate officials and workmen, are paid by percentages on the amount of coin fabricated.

**The disused
Machinery.**

There is a more modern building at Indore, which was specially erected for the purposes of a mint, and is furnished with machinery and dies brought from England in 1861 at a cost of about £4,500 and adapted for working by steam-power. Various obstacles arose to retard the completion of this Mint until 1870, when it was worked for only a day or two, and produced a few thousand rupees very much superior in design and finish to the current coin, but since that time, it has never again been set in motion. The motive power being steam, both the working and permanent expenses were found to be much more than those of the old mint, which disinclined Holkar to adopt the new process, and it was also found that the planchets, or discs of un-stamped silver, were not all turned out of uniform weight owing to unequal action in the rollers. This difficulty could not be remedied, as in the case of the rough, hand-made coins, by chipping or wedging; and for this reason also, but mainly on the score of expense, the idea of superseding the old mint was very quickly abandoned. It is to be regretted in the interests of progress, that Holkar was persuaded into getting steam machinery, as hand presses would have been quite equal to all the currency requirements of his State, and the cost of coining would probably have proved less than by the present primitive method.

**The engage-
ment of 1821**

An Engagement was entered into by Malhar Rao Holkar in 1821 that the currency of his State should be reformed, which, however, was not fulfilled. But from the preceding paragraph it will be seen that the present ruler has made most creditable and expensive efforts to effect an improvement in his currency, although the cost and other discouragements ultimately proved too much for his perseverance. In 1874, during Raja Sir Mahadeva

**Proposed
reform by Raja
Sir Mahadeva
Rao.**

Rao's tenure of office as dewan, negotiations were opened between the Supreme Government and the Indore State, having for their object the supersession of the present rupee by a new coin of the same weight and fineness as the British rupee, to be coined in the Bombay Mint, and to bear a special inscription indicating its connexion with the Indore State. Adequate compensation was to be allowed to the Maharaja for the loss of his

seigniorage. This new currency was to have been declared legal tender throughout British India as well, while the British rupee was to circulate concurrently with the new coinage throughout the Indore State. The departure of Sir Mahadeva Rao to Baroda, however, in 1875, interrupted these negotiations, and they were never carried to a conclusion, although in 1876, a permissive Act was passed by the Supreme Legislative Council to provide for the displacement of all native currencies somewhat in the manner indicated above. The old Indore coin, therefore, with all its manifold disadvantages and imperfections, still remains master of the situation. The Maharaja is disinclined to depart from the existing state of things, as, in addition to his seigniorage and gains on bullion importations, he has opportunities of profit arising from the constantly varying value of the Indore rupee in relation to the British coin.

But the present rude and antiquated coinage is quite unworthy of a State so commercially and politically important as Indore, and some reform in the currency is manifestly needed. The simplicity of its manufacture presents a constant temptation to false coiners, and its irregular shape and want of milling render sweating, clipping, or boring comparatively easy. There are no regulations for the withdrawal of light or defaced rupees, and counterfeit coins believed to be made in the city are in circulation in large numbers. The provisions of the Indian Penal Code with respect to possessing or uttering false coin are in partial operation as regards private individuals; but bankers and merchants are permitted to use them with impunity. The necessity for mutual protection against these evils has led the trading community of Indore to make their payments in bags containing Rs. 1,000 and Rs. 500, each bearing the name and seal of the issuing shroff as a guarantee of their genuineness. Rupees of any age or condition may be put in circulation under this warranty. Even coins fresh from the mint are not taken without sealing, unless required for immediate export, and then a premium of from two to five annas per cent. has usually to be paid if sealed bags are obtained in exchange,—that is, for the questionable advantage of giving new rupees for old ones. In each bag of Rs. 1,000 or Rs. 500 three counterfeit rupees may be put under sanction of the mercantile punchayet of the town, ostensibly to compensate for the coins.

Unsatisfactory condition of the coinage.

Counterfeit coins in circulation.

Precaution taken by bankers.

Sanction extended to counterfeit.

Evils of the system.

cost of cloth and sealing wax. This unwise privilege is frequently abused, and sometimes to such an extent, that as many as 20 false rupees have been detected in one bag issued by a shroff of excellent local reputation. The effect of this official recognition of spurious coin has naturally been to familiarize the merchants of Indore with its use, and to destroy all sense of disgrace or dishonesty in connexion therewith. Under this arrangement of sealed bags, payments from one shroff to another are rendered complicated and tedious in the extreme. The bags have to be opened and their contents counted on each occasion of changing hands, and representatives of the various names have to be present, furnished with signets and wax, to break the seals of their respective firms and attach new ones after weighment.

Thus, to effect a payment of only Rs. 10,000 as many as ten sealers may have to be summoned, and the transaction, instead of being confined to the payer and recipient, becomes known throughout the bazaar. If the sealers are absent, or are engaged elsewhere, the payment must stand over until their presence has been secured, although their employers have absolutely no connexion with the transaction. England furnishes no convenient illustration of this system, because the Bank of England's note is paramount there; but if it could be imagined that experts from the various banks of issue in Scotland had to certify to the genuineness of every note of £50 and upwards on each occasion of its changing owners, that would be nearly a parallel case. The confusion and hindrance to business would be intolerable, and so they frequently are in Indore under the system of a sealed currency. Moreover, the practical effect of issuing the Indore coinage under a guarantee, and not on its own intrinsic merits, is, that the newest and most perfect coins are picked out and carried off into the provinces, to pay for grain and opium; and that the very oldest and worst remain behind as the permanent currency of the capital. This is only another illustration, but a most interesting one, of the old Gresham law, that where perfect coin and inferior coin are current together on equal terms, the inferior coin will drive the other out of circulation.

Examination of rupees.

It will thus be seen that the device of the merchants for guarding themselves against light and spurious rupees very

imperfectly supplies the want of adequate State protection. The retail business of the city is necessarily carried on in unsealed or "open" rupees, which are of various qualities and values. When sums of unsealed rupees are presented in payment, they are examined one by one, and those whose impressions are still fresh, if genuine, are accepted. The others are either rejected or are assorted and taken at various rates of discount, which are usually arrived at after more or less wrangling and protest.

The deductions range from 4 annas to 12 annas per cent. The injury done to the working classes. according to weight and condition. The state of the city currency bears most heavily upon those earning small salaries and upon the working classes. These being too poor and dependent to object, are always paid in the worst coins, upon most of which they have to submit to a deduction when converting them into food and other commodities. There are numerous small money-changers distributed over the various bazars, who make a livelihood chiefly by furnishing something less than the prescribed amount of small change for such rupees.

For all these reasons it is obvious that the present Indore Conclusion, coinage but poorly fulfils the functions of a currency; that it entails permanent expenses upon the bankers and traders of the town, which ought to be wholly unnecessary; and that, if it is produced at a small charge to the State, it is a very costly medium to the entire community.

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